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THE UNCANONICAL JEWISH BOOKS

W. J. FERRAR

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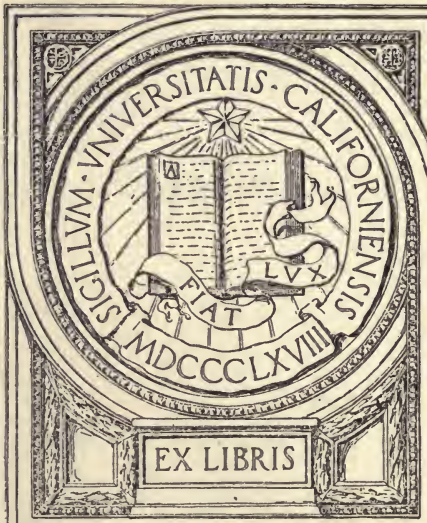

The Uncanonical Jewish Books

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The Uncanonical Jewish Books

A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE APOCRYPHA AND OTHER JEWISH WRITINGS 200 B.C.—100 A.D.

BY

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PREFACE

THE object of this Introduction is to provide a short account not only of the books in the Church Apocrypha, but of the other Jewish writings from 200 B.C. to A.D. 100, which should be now occupying the attention of those interested in the New Testament. For without some knowledge of the contemporary literature of the period, we lose the chief key to the understanding of the world to which Christ came, and the atmosphere in which the Church was born.

It is obvious that in so short a compass as this volume allows, it is only possible to give an impression of each book, and that statements have constantly to be made dogmatically which would need considerable discussion in a larger work. The writer has done his best to present the sanest views of the best scholars, and can claim that nothing has been put down that has not the support of competent scholars of the present time. And he hopes that this "conspectus" or "bird's-eye view" of a great field of knowledge and research will give a trustworthy impression of the general trend of literary activity during the period. Such an impression cannot fail to be of use in the appreciation of the New Testament; and therefore, wherever necessary, attention has been drawn to any instances of a direct connection between these writers and those of the canonical books or to any actual quotation. He chiefly hopes that readers will be led to read the uncanonical writers for themselves, and the great modern books on the period, and making their

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own comparisons and conclusions, may thus secure new and abiding light on the Gospel and the Church.

He has to acknowledge with deep thankfulness the help afforded by Dr. Charles's great edition of those books, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* the articles in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* and the *Encyclopædia Biblica,* and Dr. W. O. E. Oesterley's *The Books of the Apocrypha,* without which this Introduction would have been impossible.

East Finchley,
March, 1918.

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B.C.				A.D.		
200–150	150–100	100–50	50–1	1–50	50–100	After 100
Tobit	Prayer of Azariah	I. Maccabees	Judith	I. Esdras	I. Baruch	III. Baruch
Ecclesiasticus	Bel and the Dragon	II. Maccabees	Wisdom of Solomon	Assumption of Moses	Adam and Eve	Sibylline Oracles, v.
I. Enoch (1)	Jubilees	III. Maccabees		II. Enoch	Martyrdom of Isaiah	II. Esdras (final writing)
I. Enoch (4)	I. Enoch (3)	Prayer of Manasseh		IV. Maccabees	Sibylline Oracles, iv.	
	Testament of XII Patriarchs	Susanna			II. Baruch	
	Sibylline Oracles, iii.	Additions to Esther			Constituents of II. Esdras	
		I. Enoch (2)				
		I. Enoch (5)				
		Psalms of Solomon				

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Wisdom of Ben-Sira. Oesterley.
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Book of Jubilees. Charles.
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Odes and Psalms of Solomon. Box.
Ascension of Isaiah. Charles.
Apocalypse of Ezra (2 Esdras). Box.
Apocalypse of Baruch. Charles.
Assumption of Moses. Ferrar.
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II.—Wisdom of Solomon. Oesterley.
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The above short and cheap text-books have either appeared already, or are in the press.

(Large type indicates general indispensability for study.)

THE
UNCANONICAL JEWISH BOOKS

I. ESDRAS (THE GREEK EZRA)

THIS book presents many critical problems, which it is impossible in so small a space to do more than mention. It is the book which appears in our official Apocrypha as 1 Esdras, the contents of which run parallel to those in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and which by its divergencies from the latter raises important questions.

It was written in Greek at any time during the first century A.D. by one of the Pharisaic school, most probably *not* in Palestine, with the object of glorifying everything connected with the Temple and its worship, and exalting the fame and work of Ezra the scribe. The rebuilding of the Temple represented to the Jewish mind the continuance of Israel's sacrificial approach to God, and Ezra stood for the importance of the Law. The Altar and the Law were the two great privileges of Israel. It is these with which the writer is chiefly concerned, and he seems to regard historical events as an unimportant background to these two ideas.

1 Esdras seems to stand in the following relation to the Biblical Ezra. The latter with Nehemiah was originally the conclusion of the Chronicles, and an integral part of them, written after the Exile in order to give a special trend to Jewish historical ideas. Chronicles was not at once admitted into the Canon, as the ground was already covered by 1 and 2 Kings. But as there was no record in the Hebrew Bible of

the events recorded in Ezra and Nehemiah, they were recognized as canonical. And thus they appear in the Septuagint as Esdras 1 and 2. But it is significant that they are there placed *after* the book we are considering, and also that Josephus uses our book as his authority, and does not seem to recognize the canonical account. The ground covered by the two versions is not quite the same, for our book embraces 2 Chron. xxxv.–xxxvi. 1–23, in addition to Ezra and Nehemiah vii. 6–viii. 12, while the interesting passage iii. 1–v. 3 has nothing corresponding to it in the Biblical material.

The contents of 1 Esdras are as follow—

i. 1–24, Josiah's Passover, 25–33, death at Megiddo; 34–58, reigns of kings to Fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.).

ii. 1–15, Cyrus's decree to rebuild Jerusalem (538 B.C.); 16–30, Samaritans' letter to Artaxerxes, and rebuilding ceases till Darius (520 B.C.).

iii. 1–iv. 46, Zerubbabel's victory in the competition; iv. 47–v. 3, allowed to return and rebuild walls and Temple.

v. 4–46, List of exiles; 46–65, rebuilding; 66–73, the Samaritans cause suspension.

vi. 1–6, Building of Temple begun; 7–34, letter of Sisinnes and favourable reply of Darius.

vii. 1–15, Dedication and Passover (516 B.C.).

viii. 1–ix. 36, Ezra comes by permission of Artaxerxes (458 B.C.); he brings Priests and Levites, and stops mixed marriages.

ix. 37–55, He reads the Law of Moses (444 B.C.).

It will be seen by the above that our book differs from the canonical—

(i) By reversing the order of the Persian kings, which was in reality—

Cyrus (533–529 B.C.),
Darius I. (522–486 B.C.),
Artaxerxes I. (465–425 B.C.),

although it starts correctly with Cyrus in ii. 1 *seq.*

(ii) By taking no account of Neh. i. 1–vii. 72, and thus making the story of Ezra continuous.

There is no doubt that the writer reflected a somewhat hazy view of the chronology of the Return from Exile in the Hebrew records which he strung together, and it is possible that portions of the Hebrew were already misplaced and names wrongly given. Dr. Oesterley supposes there were two Hebrew documents in existence, represented in translation respectively by the canonical Ezra and our book. The former is by no means historically impeccable, and the nearest approach to truth is probably to be found by combining the two accounts.

The story of the three young men and of Zerubbabel's victory, as has been said, is peculiar to the book. It is a specimen of a type of Eastern tale familiar to readers of the *Arabian Nights*, and, of course, memorable for its great word: *Magna est veritas, et prævalet.* The young guardsmen in the story compete together to phrase the wisest sentence, and each puts his writing under Darius's pillow. The first writes, "Wine is the strongest"; the second, "The King is strongest"; and Zerubbabel, "Women are strongest, but truth above all things beareth away the victory." Each sentence is next day defended at some length in the King's presence, Zerubbabel is proclaimed the winner, and craves as his reward the rebuilding of the Jewish walls and Temple. Dr. Oesterley suggests that this story, being such an obvious patch on the rest of the book, was an attempt made by a Hellenistic reviser to minimize what seemed to him an excessive stress on the personality of Ezra, and to present Zerubbabel, the more "prophetic" name, as also in the foreground of the picture.

Note.—The fullest recent discussion of the problems connected with the book is contained in Prof. C. C. Torrey's *Ezra Studies* (Chicago University Press); 1909.

I. MACCABEES

THE First Book of Maccabees seems to have been written between 100 and 90 B.C., after the death of John Hyrcanus in 105 B.C. Our present Greek text bears many signs of having been translated from the Hebrew. The writer was "an ardent patriot and a rigid adherent of orthodox Judaism," and a native of Palestine. Dr. Oesterley ranks him with the Sadducees, and the writer's laudation of John Hyrcanus, who definitely broke with the Pharisaic party, would support this. Much that was good in Pharisaism, however, appealed strongly to him. He is a true historian with an easy flowing style, takes great pains to present original documents, and is in the main, in spite of an occasional tendency to exaggeration, unprejudiced and impartial. Of some of the later events recorded he was perhaps himself an eye-witness, and the graphic touches in the earlier history show him to have used the accounts of eye-witnesses.

The course covered by the story is from 175 B.C. to 135 B.C., *i. e.* from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Simon Maccabæus. Our limits of space make it impossible to follow in detail the course of the Maccabæan struggle. The story is readily accessible in the Apocrypha, and is told simply and straightforwardly, though it becomes involved in the somewhat tortuous history of the Seleucid dynasty. It groups itself round the commanding personalities of Mattathias, Judas — the "Maccabee," or "Hammerer," whose greatness conferred his name on his whole family—and of Jonathan and Simon. It records how by the firm stand made by one family, combined with fortunate external

events, the Jewish people, shorn of political independence, with their religious liberty jeopardized, browbeaten by a powerful monarch, and cankered with inward decay, reasserted their national independence, re-established their Altar and Priesthood, and became amid the jarring politics of their neighbours, "the deciding factor" of the stability of thrones. It shows how by the faithfulness of a determined few the capture of Judaism by the spirit of Hellenism was prevented, and the policy of the clique who had "joined themselves to the Gentiles, and sold themselves to do evil," effectually countered. The great career of Judas, untimely in its end, assured religious freedom; the energy and diplomacy of Jonathan and the establishment of the High Priesthood in his family made the Maccabees—or as they came to be called, the Hasmoneans—supreme in Church and State, all power being centralized in their persons, while under Simon and John the Jews won their way to an independence which was only destroyed by Pompey in 63 B.C.

The official documents preserved in this book naturally arouse inquiry. Can they be trusted as authentic? In the main, yes. "The documentary sources shed a most valuable light on the external policy of the Jews as well as on the important *rôle* they played in shaping Syrian politics."[1] The ones that rouse suspicion are the "Letter from Jonathan to the Spartans" (xii. 6–18), the letter of the Spartans to Simon (xiv. 20–22), and the letter from Lucius, the Roman Consul, to Ptolemy (xv. 16–21), though even beneath these there may be a historical foundation. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the letter of the King of Sparta to Onias (xii. 20–23), the treaty of alliance between Rome and the Jews (viii. 23–32), or the letters from Syrian kings to the Jewish leaders.

The religious outlook of the writer differs from that of the Old Testament. He refrains from emphasizing

[1] Oesterley, p. 423.

the intervention of God in the Jewish struggles, and indeed does not once mention God by name. He believes strongly, however, in Providence, and also in the need of human energy. "This very sensible religious attitude, which is as far removed from scepticism as it is from fatalism, fully corresponds to the writer's sober impartiality as a historian."

His gift of characterization has placed the great figures of the Maccabees in the gallery of the world's heroes. He has filled the spaces of an age, of which without his help our knowledge would be scanty, with magnificent figures, vivid and full of individuality. He has given a trustworthy picture of much that went to make Jewish society what it was at the time of our Lord's birth, and preserved the memory of what must have been considered by His contemporaries a great heritage, but also a terrible reproach in their final state of servitude—the record of an epoch fondly gazed back upon, when—

"He made peace in the land,
And Israel rejoiced with great joy.
And each sat under his vine and his fig-tree,
And there was none to make them afraid;
And no one was left in the land to fight them,
And the kings were discomfited in those days."
(XIV. 11.)

Note.—There is an edition of 1 Maccabees with notes in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, by Fairweather and Black, and of 1 and 2 Maccabees in the *Temple Apocrypha* (Dent), by Fairweather.

II. MACCABEES

THE Second Book of Maccabees is not a continuation of the first. It is a parallel account covering nearly the same ground. It is "alius non secundus," as Luther says. Its record being from 175 B.C. to 161 B.C., the beginning is most valuable, as treating a short period before the accession of Antiochus of which we have no other account but that of Josephus. It claims to be an epitome of a long history in five books by a certain Jason of Cyrene. The writer professes to aim at broadness of treatment, brevity, and attractiveness in his choice of excerpts, and in his summarizing. The result is an obvious want of unity in the book, and a style that is somewhat haphazard and sensational. Jason's book, of which we know nothing beyond what this writer tells us, seems to have been written shortly after the close of the Maccabæan struggle between 120 B.C. and 110 B.C. "Its author," Professor Torrey says,[1] "was a contemporary of men who had taken part in the Maccabæan struggle." And he concludes that he depended on oral accounts at second hand, while he was not blessed with a very strong critical or literary faculty. The writer prefixes to his history two letters said to have been sent by the Jews of Palestine to the dispersed among the Gentiles, the one dated 143 B.C., the other 124 B.C., urging them to keep the newly established Feast of Dedication. There seems no valid reason to reject these documents altogether, though they are probably summarized and altered.

He also writes a preface (ii. 19–32), explaining his method and objects, and concludes with a short

[1] *Encycl. Bib.*, III. 2870.

epilogue (xv. 37–39). He opens by relating how Heliodorus, the Chancellor of Antiochus, sent to seize the Temple treasures, was deterred by a miraculous vision (iii. 1–39), and describes the sordid intrigues of Simon and Jason for the High Priesthood, the Hellenic innovations among the Jews, the plundering of Jerusalem, the martydom of Eleazar and a mother and her seven sons, the early successes of Judas, Antiochus' death, and the purification of Jerusalem, with the Hanukka Feast. Then follow the further successes of Judas, with angelic help, a three-years' peace followed by Nicanor's renewed attack, defeat and death, and the Institution of the Feast of Dedication.

When we compare this with 1 Maccabees we see that the writer differs fundamentally in object and tone of mind. He is bent on glorifying the Jews at all costs, and is specially interested in the Temple, the Priesthood, and the promotion of the new Feast of Dedication, which is the climax of his story. He draws out the constancy of the Jews not by a vivid unfolding of events, but by sensational accounts of torture and martyrdoms. He depends much on the supernatural, and attributes the success of Judas to angelic help, rather than to his own heroic spirit. 1 Maccabees is far more to be trusted, when the statements of the two writers conflict, as they very often do in their parallel narratives. And yet 2 Maccabees must not be considered to be without historical value. There are passages which, by their graphic details, seem to bring us nearer to the actual events than the more sober and literary manner of the other writer.

The writer's advanced teaching on the resurrection is noticeable: "There is no other pre-Christian Jewish book which puts forth the doctrine of the resurrection of the body more definitely." [1] And we have, too, the interesting account and comment on Judas's sacrifices and prayers for the dead (xii. 43–45): "For if he were not expecting that the fallen would rise again it would have been superfluous and useless to pray for the

[1] Oesterley, p. 489.

dead. And if he in doing this was looking for the splendour of the gracious reward which is laid up for them that have fallen asleep in godliness, holy and pious was the thought. Wherefore he made a propitiation for them that had died that they might be released from their sin."

The writer's attitude to the supernatural, and such teaching as the above on the resurrection and prayers for the dead are the only guide to the date of the epitome. He seems to regard what he says as the normal teaching, well known and acceptable to those to whom it was addressed. This would make it considerably later than 1 Maccabees. Scholars are agreed in placing it some time before the beginning of the Christian era.

It seems to have influenced Hebrews xi. 35–38, where we have a reproduction of the Greek of 2 Maccabees vi. and vii. and x. 6.

III. MACCABEES

THIS book has no connection with the Maccabæan struggle. We can only conjecture why it was classed with the Maccabæan books. It was probably written about 100 B.C. at the same period as the Letter of Aristeas and 2 Maccabees, with both of which it is linked by literary similarity.

Its writer was, in all probability, an orthodox Jew of Alexandria, loyal to the Temple and the Law, and untouched by Hellenistic influences. He adopts a pseudo-classical style, artificial and bombastic, using a number of strange and original words. He does not refer to apocalyptic ideas, or the Messiah, or the hope of a future life, but belongs to the strict and more conservative school.

The incidents recorded are an attempt of King Ptolemy IV. (Philopator) after the Battle of Raphia in 217 B.C. to enter the Temple at Jerusalem, his repulse by angels, and the revenge he takes on the Jews by degrading the Egyptian Jews, interfering with their religion, and letting loose elephants inflamed by strong drink upon a Jewish concourse in the Hipprodrome at Alexandria. An angelic vision turns the elephants against the Egyptian persecutors, and the King repents, and becomes friendly to the Jews.

Now although this chain of incidents is obviously unhistorical, as it stands, there is no doubt a foundation of truth in the different parts of the story. Let us see what it is.

The writer differs in detail in his account of the Battle of Raphia from that of the historian Polybius, and he is thought to follow the more popular work

of a certain Ptolemy of Megalopolis, who dealt largely in the extravagant and marvellous, and designedly blackened the character of Philopator.

In Josephus (*contra Ap.* ii. 5) we have a similar story of drunken elephants, let loose by Physcon (Ptolemy IX., 146–117 B.C.) on the Alexandrian Jews, who supported his sister Cleopatra in her claim to the throne, which turn and attack his followers. Josephus also mentions in the same chapter a visit of Ptolemy Euergetes I. to the Jewish Temple to offer thanksgiving, in which similar events happen to those recorded in 3 Maccabees.

It seems likely that behind these references of Josephus lie the actual historical circumstances, which the writer connects together in a new order, to suit his own purpose.

This purpose is, of course, similar to that of the writers of Esther and Daniel—the glorification of the Jewish race and their religion, and the stiffening of their fibre by the contemplation of what had presumably happened in the past to their own faithful members, and to all who had ventured to persecute them. It had, too, a reference to the educated Jewish world: it was meant to lead them to imply that the Jewish race had a peculiar sanctity, and that it was dangerous to interfere with them; while, by the way, it emphasized the thorough loyalty of the Jews to the Ptolemies, so long as they were treated with justice and consideration.

The book is only interesting as throwing a light on the feeling of the Jews at this period to their Egyptian conquerors.

Note.—This book is most accessible in Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. I, and in S.P.C.K. Texts, 3 and 4 Maccabees. C. W. Emmet.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

WE may call the Book of Tobit an historical novel, if we lay stress on "novel" rather than "historical." The writer's object was not to write history, but to point spiritual and moral lessons with an historical background. That background is vague, false, and full of anachronisms. It is better to call it a story with a purpose, or several purposes.

The writer, whom most English scholars recognize as a Jew living in Egypt somewhere between 300 and 200 B.C. (after the return from captivity, and before the Maccabæan revolt), in close touch with the Persian influences which were very strong in Egypt in the third century B.C., wrote his book partly to counteract forces hostile to Judaism, and partly—for he was a born story-teller—from the story-telling instinct. In it we find most artistically blended the various streams that would affect the mental life of a pious Jew of liberal tendencies living in Egypt removed from the politics and narrowing ecclesiasticism of the Jerusalem of the Return. The writer yields to none in his reverence for the Law, the performance of the duties to the Temple, and in love of the Holy City. One of his objects is to protest against violations of the purity of Jewish marriage, another to put in the forefront the duty of burying the dead. He is profoundly impressed with the need of a right spirit in prayer and almsgiving—and gives examples of very beautiful praying. He paints his characters in the quiet light and shade of the domesticity of the patriarchal age, drawn from the Book of Genesis. But Jewish sources are but a tithe of what lies behind Tobit. We can trace the presence of at least three non-Jewish stories,

which are worked in: namely, the Story of Ahikar, the Tale of the Grateful Dead Man, and the story told in the Tractate of Khons. Ahikar, indeed, is made a relative of Tobit. His story, which appears in many forms, is the tale of the adopted son, who betrays his benefactor, and eventually is punished. The next tale relates how a traveller stays to bury a dead body, and on arriving at his destination falls in love with a rich lady. On the marriage night a serpent-demon springs out of her mouth to slay him, and is put to flight by the spirit of the buried man, who was her husband. And the Tractate of Khons, a propagandist document preserved on a stele, is a similar story of a princess cured of a demon through an emissary from the Egyptian God Khons.

The writer of Tobit was also in a circle of ideas of more definite angelic mediation than that of the Old Testament. His race had no doubt reached this through contact with Persia, together with the magical ideas that are also prominent in his book.

He opens with Tobit's narrative of his being carried to Nineveh in the days of Shalmaneser, with his wife and son Tobias. He tells of his loyalty to the Law, his almsgiving, and his care to bury the bodies of the dead in his captivity. It was after contracting defilement through one of these good actions, that he lay in the courtyard, and the droppings of the sparrows blinded him. The scene then changes to Ecbatana in Media, where Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, is under the influence of the demon Asmodeus, the slayer of seven men in succession who have aspired to be her husband. The Angel Raphael is sent down to accompany Tobias to Sarah, to make her his wife, and to recover a large sum of money deposited by Tobit. On the journey Tobias is attacked by a great fish in the river, which he brings to land with Raphael's aid; and he is told to keep the gall, liver, and heart, for the two latter when burned make a smoke that will drive away demons, while the gall will cure diseases of the eye. On their arrival the marriage

is arranged, Tobias burns the fish's liver and heart in the marriage chamber, the demon is driven away for ever, and the grave that Raguel has prepared for another would-be son-in-law has to be filled up. The money-deposit is received intact, and the party return to Nineveh, where Tobias applies the gall of the fish to his father's eyes and cures him. The book concludes with the final words of Raphael to Tobit, and an account of his Ascension, the prayer of Tobit, and his last words. Such is a bald summary of the course of the story, which by the simple skill of the writer in artistically uniting the domestic, the moral, the religious, and the marvellous has charmed the ears of Jew and Christian alike through the two thousand years of its life.

The writer's leading religious ideas are similar to those of Ben-Sira, who belonged to the same epoch. Both have the same teaching about the worship and offerings to the Temple; both teach the efficacy of almsgiving, and of prayer, though in Tobit fasting is not dwelt on; both are equally dumb as to the possibilities of a resurrection; while both are nobly universalistic in their outlook on the Messianic age, for example—

"A bright light shall shine unto the ends of the earth.
Many nations shall come from afar,
And the inhabitants of the utmost ends of the earth unto thy holy name."

(XIII. 11.)

With regard to the influence of this book on the New Testament, there is no doubt that it acted constantly with the force of a set of ideas that had by their artistic presentment worked itself into the minds of cultured and uncultured alike. In idea and turn of phrase Tobit is always reappearing in the New Testament. In his teaching on prayer and almsgiving Our Lord reproduces and spiritualizes what Tobit had

said. There are many instances in St. Paul's Epistles which show that he must have been very familiar with the book. And the demonic part of Tobit has close analogies with Rev. xx. 2 and xxi. 10–21, as has also the description of the New Jerusalem (Tobit xiii. 16–18):

"The gates of Jerusalem shall be builded with sapphire
and emerald,
And all thy walls with precious stones.
The towers of Jerusalem shall be builded with gold,
And their battlements with pure gold.
The streets of Jerusalem shall be paved
With carbuncles and stones of Ophir;
And the gates of Jerusalem shall utter hymns of
gladness,
And all her houses shall say, Halleluiah."

Moreover one cannot fail to recognize the verbal similarities between the account of Raphael's Ascension (Tobit xii. 16–22) and the Gospel narratives of the Transfiguration, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord. There were of course other "Ascensions" recounted in the apocryphal writings, and probably the writer of Tobit is using the set forms of words associated with such descriptions. The writers of the Gospels used naturally the same turns of phrase in describing in popular language events of the same outward character, but of incomparably greater significance, in the Gospel story.

Note.—The *Temple* edition (Dent), edited by Sayce, with Judith and the Additions to Daniel.

THE BOOK OF JUDITH

LIKE Tobit, the Book of Judith is a historical romance, in which dates, historical characters and events are used somewhat at random to afford a picturesque setting for the unfolding of great national and religious ideals. It was evidently written at a time of trial, perhaps during the Maccabæan revolt, to stiffen the courage of the people. The writer was of the Pharisaic party, and wrote in Hebrew, from which our Greek versions must all have been translated. He had full knowledge of his own sacred books, and shows considerable literary skill in working up to the climax of his story. If the "Song of Judith" is really part of the original book, and not an earlier writing incorporated by the writer, he was also a man of the deepest spiritual insight and poetic feelings.

With regard to the historical setting the story is placed in the time of "Nebuchadnezzar, King of Nineveh," who died in the year 562 B.C., and who is regarded as sending his expedition after the return of the Jews from captivity, at the earliest 536 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar did not reign at Nineveh, nor attack Media, nor capture Ecbatana, as here represented. Various attempts have been made to find some historical personage who may be disguised under the name of Nebuchadnezzar. The historical framework seems most likely to have been suggested by the campaign of Artaxerxes Ochus, King of Persia, against Phœnicia and Egypt, though there is no historical confirmation in any records of anything corresponding to the events of the Book of Judith. This campaign took place about 350 B.C., and there was a Holofernes, who is stated

to have died in his own country, and a Bagoas concerned in it (Diodorus Siculus, xxxi. 19; xvi. 47).

The problem must remain insoluble, why the writer should misname this monarch, or whether he was intentionally disguising the names of persons of his own day. But the real interest of the Book of Judith does not turn on the accuracy of the writer's historical knowledge. Nor would it be increased if it could be proved to be, as some have thought, a romance founded on a local legend, which had a kernel of actual truth. Its real interest lies in the extremely dramatic figure of the heroine, and the vigorous enunciation from her lips of the faith and practice of the Jewish race. And it is also a remarkable presentment of the views of the typically Pharisaic party before their final crystallization into hidebound legalism.

The first seven of the sixteen chapters are introductory, and relate how Nebuchadnezzar sends a punitive expedition under Holofernes of 120,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry to chastise Syria and Egypt for not joining him in a war against Media. Arriving at Esdraelon he finds the Jews of Bethulia (a rocky fortress-town which may be Shechem) have stopped the passes leading to Jerusalem. Achior, an Ammonite, tells him that the Jews can only be conquered if they offend their God, and as a punishment for his impertinence is handed over to the enemy. Holofernes gets possession of Bethulia's water-supply and sits down to starve the Jews out. After thirty-four days it is determined by the besieged that the town shall only hold out for five more days.

In the eighth chapter the rich widow Judith appears from her retirement, and proposes to go and work a deliverance. With a maid, bearing "clean food," she is admitted to the presence of Holofernes, and assures him that the Jews are about to incur God's anger by eating the sacred food, and that she would inform him the moment they could be safely attacked. For three nights she is allowed to go outside the camp for prayer, but on the fourth she consents to go to

Holofernes' feast. He drinks much more wine than he had drunk at any time in one day since he was born, while Judith partakes only of her own food. The servants depart and leave them together, and Judith after prayer takes Holofernes' sword, "and smote twice upon his head with all her might, and she took away his head from him, and tumbled his body down from the pillars; and anon after she went forth, and gave Holofernes his head to her maid; and she put it in her bag of meat." They escape to Bethulia, and are received with joy. The Jews make a sortie, and the enemy attempt to rouse Holofernes, and discovering what has been done, flee in disorder.

The last chapter contains Judith's beautiful song of praise—

"For their mighty one did not fall by young men,
Neither did sons of the Titans smite him,
Nor did high giants set upon him;
But Judith the daughter of Merari made him weak
with the beauty of her countenance."

(XVI. 7.)

Though the book was not received in the Canon, it is mentioned in the Liturgy for the Feast of Dedication, founded by Judas Maccabæus. It was quoted by Clement of Rome, and most of the early Fathers, and was a favourite subject for Art in the Middle Ages.

Its Pharisaic character is very evident. Obedience to the law is the essence of righteousness, and the secret of a good conscience. Judith observes not only the feasts, but their eves; she is careful not to eat forbidden food; she fasts constantly. She teaches that God will punish disobedience to these ritual ordinances not only here but hereafter.

THE BOOK OF SIRACH

"ECCLESIASTICUS" is the name in the English Bible for the book whose original title was probably "The Wisdom of Jesus Ben-Sira." "Ecclesiasticus" means "the Church Book," and the name dates from the fourth century A.D., when it was regarded as a useful book of instruction for catechumens.

Ben-Sira wrote in Hebrew somewhere about the year 175 B.C. And his book, as the Prologue tells us, was translated into Greek by his grandson at Alexandria probably in the year 132 B.C. The Hebrew original had been lost since the eleventh century, and the discovery of the greater part of it sheet by sheet, in the Genizah at Cairo by Prof. Schechter and others from the year 1896 onwards, is among the romances of modern research. As might be expected, there are considerable differences between the Hebrew and the Greek, both having passed through many copyings and editions.

The book belongs to the Wisdom [Hokmah] Literature of the Jews, which was the proverbial philosophy, or commentary on life and duty, that naturally developed out of the homely sayings and fables that seem from the early books of the Old Testament to have been as common among the Jews as among other peoples. In the time of Jeremiah the specifically wise man or ethical student and teacher stood with the priest and the prophet as one of the leaders of the religious life of the Jews (Jer. xviii. 18). The Hebrew mind realized that all Wisdom came to man from God, both the knowledge of God Himself, and the wisdom of ordinary practical life. The wisdom-writers loved to paint Wisdom as a personal

being in the company of God from the beginning, and sent by Him to holy souls. The attainment of it depended on human effort and concentration; earnestness in its pursuit was always rewarded, but its growth in the community required a leisured class wholly devoted to its cultivation.

From the time of Alexander the Great the Jews had been affected by Greek culture, and had learned to make wisdom or knowledge the root-principle of virtue. As " virtue " to the Hebrew could only mean obedience to the divinely given Law, we can see how he was forced to identify the true wisdom ultimately with the Law, and to say " the fear of the Lord is the consummation of Wisdom." Thus in his pursuit of Wisdom, unlike the Greek thinkers, he was in a sense searching for something, the main outlines of which were already known to him. He always comes back to the precepts of the Law. Of this literature of practical philosophy, Ben-Sira proclaims himself a humble and belated follower. He comes " last of all, as one that gleaneth after the grape-gatherers." But he has filled his wine-press. And the stream he led into his garden to irrigate it has become a river, and the river a sea. He has developed to the full the hints of the Proverbs and the Psalms for the guidance of his own day. Thus his book became a comprehensive guide of life in every particular. It explores with the reserve of his Sadducæan limitations the deep questions of sin and freewill, death and retribution. It lays down rules for tactful behaviour in the Council, in the market and at home. It teaches care and circumspection in men's relation with women, and with associates in business. It includes detailed advice on behaviour in society and at the dinner-table. Its writer is evidently one who has travelled and figured in the highest society of his day; he is no mere student cut off from the experience of life. " Relishing a good table, music and congenial company, but moderate in his enjoyments; genuinely pious, and a constant reader of holy books, but not

given to enthusiasm, and free from superstitions." In the Book of Sirach, as in Montaigne or Bacon, there is always the charm of following one who thoroughly knows his way through the beaten tracks of human nature.

As Ben-Sira lived before the Pharisee and the Sadducee had definitely diverged we do not find in his teaching the hard-and-fast lines of the partisan. Yet there is no doubt that he was in essence a Sadducee. He insists on the Law of Moses, not on any oral ordinances, as the rule of duty; he has little room for the hope of a Messiah; he has no belief in a conscious life after death. In all this he agrees more with the Sadducees, as well as in his tolerant attitude towards the Greek world, in spite of his programme to show the superiority of Jewish over Hellenic wisdom.

The Book of Sirach must have been well known to the writers of the New Testament. There are significant parallels between the Language of the Gospel and Sirach; the following have been noted—

Matt. vi. 14	Sirach xxviii. 2.
Matt. vi. 19 *seq.* . . .	Sirach xxix. 12.
Matt. xvi. 27	Sirach xxxii. 24.
Luke i. 17	Sirach xlviii. 10.
Luke xii. 15 *seq.* (The Rich Fool) . . .	Sirach xxxi. 3 and xi. 18–19.

But the Epistle of St. James shows actual and close dependence—*e. g.* cf. Jas. i. 2–4: "Count it all joy, my brethren," etc., with Sirach ii. 1: "My son, if thou comest to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation." And Jas. 1–19: "Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak," with Sirach v. 11: "Be swift to hear." And note also—

James i. 5	Sirach xviii. 18.
James i. 6–8 . . .	Sirach i. 28.
James i. 13–15 . . .	Sirach xv. 11–20.
James i. 23	Sirach xii. 11.
James v. 5	Sirach xxvii. 10.
James v. 14	Sirach xxxviii. 9–15.

It will be acknowledged, too, that Ben-Sira's recognition of the value of sacrifice only on its ethical, not on its *ex opere operato* side, in its high spiritual tone is in full accord with the teaching of the New Testament. He could write in the manner of the great prophets—

"The sacrifice of the unrighteous man is a mocking offering,
And unacceptable are the oblations of the godless.
The Most High hath no pleasure in the offerings of the ungodly,
Neither doth He forgive sins for a multitude of sacrifices."

(XXXIV. 18.)

Note.—The S.P.C.K. edition, by Oesterley. 1916.

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

THE Book of the Wisdom of Solomon is generally ascribed to a Jew of Alexandria, as it blends Greek and Hebrew thought in the manner of Philo. There are writers, however, who maintain that it was written in Palestine. It falls naturally into two divisions, which are so different in manner and purpose that, as we shall see, it is almost certainly a work of a composite character, its component parts being of different dates. The first part, if this be so, would probably be dated from 50 B.C. to 30 B.C., the second some twenty years later. It should be said, however, that important scholars place it from fifty to sixty years earlier.

Its ascription to Solomon was seen as early as the time of Jerome to be only a literary device, and there are many indications that the name was adopted because the book was intended to be a corrective of the materialistic and pessimistic teaching of Ecclesiastes, also ascribed to Solomon.

The first part of the book extends to xi. 1, and includes (*a*) a mass of eschatological teaching on the destiny of the righteous and the wicked, and (*b*) the praise of Wisdom, which gives its name to the book. Its teaching is as follows: Wisdom cannot co-exist with sin, purity of life is the only road to knowledge of God. The sinner will not ultimately escape punishment, for there is "an ear of jealousy which listeneth to all things." The world is inherently healthy, "God made not death," it is men that bring punishment on themselves. The pessimist and the sensualist are both wrong: those who say, "Short and sorrowful is our life, by mere chance were we born,"

and those who cry, "Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they wither," and do not hesitate to oppress the poor and helpless. Their victims will be justified and avenged, for "the souls of the righteous are in the hand of the Lord, and there shall no torment touch them," whereas the ungodly shall suffer both themselves and in the persons of their descendants; their remorse at the Judgement will be bitter when they cry, "What did our arrogancy profit us?" The following of Wisdom is most incumbent on the great, for "mighty men shall be searched out mightily" (vi. 5). Then begins the panegyric of Wisdom.

She "is radiant and fadeth not away, and easily is she beheld of them that love her." "She forestalleth them that desire *to know her*, making herself first known." She came to Solomon in answer to prayer, and she is his chief treasure, and the source of all his knowledge. "She is a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty . . . from generation to generation passing into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God and prophets." She becomes more and more a personal being as the writer proceeds; she is the bride Solomon desired, being enamoured of her beauty; she alone can be his teacher, prophet, and friend, she who is not weighed down with the corruption of the body, nor subject to mortal weakness. Her work in history is recounted from Adam to Moses: she ever guided, and "prospered their works by the hand of a holy prophet" (xi. 1).

Here we pass to the second part of the book, which is of a much more prosaic character: "We have no longer a poem extolling goodness and celebrating Wisdom, but a Midrash in glorification of the Jews." Chapters xi. to xix. contrast the lot of Israel in their flight in the wilderness with that of Egypt beset by the plagues.

Chapters xiii. to xv. are a digression on the evil of idolatry. In the spirit of Isaiah xl, it is the height

of folly to worship a piece of wood not good enough for the shipbuilder. In conclusion, the writer shows how the elements by their transmutation ruined the Egyptians and defended the Israelites, " for the world fighteth for the righteous," and—

" . . . the creation, ministering to thee its maker,
Straineth its force against the unrighteous for punishment,
And slackeneth it, in behalf of them that trust in thee, for beneficence." (XVI. 24.)

Thus in the miraculous story of the Exodus the writer sees a change effecting itself under the surface of outward nature, making for moral ends. Fire forgot to burn, and water to quench.

" For the elements changed their order one with another,
Just as the notes of a psaltery vary the character of the rhythm." (XIX. 18.)

Such being a brief abstract of Wisdom, it will be plain that it had certain and definite objects, that it was written emphatically for a purpose: that purpose was to recall the Jews of the Dispersion, constantly in danger of succumbing to the materialism, scepticism, and idolatry of the environment of Hellenism, back to the simplicity and purity of their ancestral faith. Life, because it was short, was not to be squandered in vain pleasures; problems of God and man, hard though they might be, could be solved by patient study of the Jewish records; and after their long vicissitudes it would be shameful indeed because of persecution to go over to idolatry. These warnings must have been only too much needed by the Jews of a city like Alexandria.

There is little doubt that Wisdom had a considerable influence on the writers of the New Testament, and especially on St. Paul and St. John. Thackeray thinks that the former must have made " a close

study of it," and traces the result in the Pauline teaching on idolatry, predestination, and eschatology.

A comparison of one or two typical similarities will be interesting.

Wisdom ii. 24. By the envy of the devil death entered into the world.	Rom. v. 12. . . . Sin entered into the world, and death through sin.
Wisdom iii. 8. The righteous shall judge nations, and have dominion over peoples.	1 Cor. vi. 2, 3. Or know ye not that the saints shall judge the world—etc.
Wisdom v. 17–20. He shall take his jealousy as complete armour [*panoply*]. He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate, and shall take judgement as a helmet; He shall take holiness as an invincible shield, And shall sharpen stern wrath as a sword.	Eph. vi. 11–20. Put on the whole armour of God [*panoply*]—etc. [Both passages are, of course, founded on Isa. lix. 17.]
Wisdom ix. 5. For a corruptible body weigheth down the soul, and the earthly frame lieth heavy on the mind that is full of cares.	2 Cor. v. 1. For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle . . .; and v. 4. We that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened.

The number of such parallels, though no single one is conclusive by itself, seems to prove St. Paul's absorption of the ideas of Wisdom.

It will perhaps be asked, as the sublime figure of Wisdom, the agent of God in creation and the revealer of the mind of God, stands unveiled before us, what did the writer exactly intend her to be? Is she a "person"? Is she an attribute of God poetically personified? The answer with regard to this Jewish personification of Wisdom, which occurs also in

Prov. viii. and Sirach xxiv., is that the idea of personality was not at all clearly developed at that time, and that the Oriental mind was and is far more prone to vague and poetic imagination than ours. Thus the nation was to the prophet a bride, or a despoiled mother, and the stars and powers of nature were confused with angelic personalities. There was far more of poetry in the personification of Wisdom than of philosophical exactness. But even we can feel something of the grandeur and beauty of the conception of a personal element entering in as the special inspiration of the ideals that uplift and inspire mankind.

Note.—Edited by Gregg, in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools.* (1909.) S.P.C.K. Text. Oesterley.

I. BARUCH AND THE EPISTLE OF JEREMIAH

THE Book of Baruch of our official Apocrypha claims to have been written by Baruch, the secretary of the prophet Jeremiah, during the captivity in Babylon. After having been read there, the preface says it was sent to Jerusalem with a sum of money for the expenses of sacrifices, with a request that the Jews should pray for Nebuchadnezzar and his son Belshazzar.

This would have been, according to i. 2 ("the fifth year"), either 592 B.C. or 582 B.C. But there is little doubt among scholars that it was really written quite six centuries and a half later, that is to say, near the time of the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70. In this case the events and characters of the time of the Babylonian exile are used to refer to the present. Rome is Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar is Vespasian, and the writer, continuing the blunder in the Book of Daniel, makes Belshazzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and so by him means Titus, son of Vespasian.

But as the Book of Baruch is really not a single book, but three books bound together, each requires separate treatment.

Baruch consists of—

(i) The Book of Confessions (i.–iii. 8);
(ii) A fragment of "Wisdom" literature (iii. 9–iv. 4); and
(iii) A prophetic encouragement (iv. 5–v. 9).

(i) The Confession acknowledges that the Exile is God's punishment of Israel's disobedience, and refusal to obey Jeremiah and serve Nebuchadnezzar. A promise of restoration and rule over Palestine is given. This is all in agreement with the Pharisaic

attitude of complete submission to Rome (Jos. *Bell Jud.* vi. 3, 4, and ix. 2, 3), and we shall be right in referring this portion to A.D. 75. Dr. Oesterley[1] dwells on a striking similarity between this and passages of the Jewish Prayer Book, especially the identity of the order and phrasing of petitions in the "Eighteen Benedictions" (*Shemoneh Esreh*). He would conclude that i. 15–iii. 8 is an expansion of some part of the Temple Liturgy of the first century A.D.

(ii) This section (written in verse) dwells on the common topic of the Wisdom Literature; God's "*Law*" is Wisdom: it is nowhere else but in Him. He has committed it to the Jews. The neglect of it is the cause of their downfall. Let them lay hold of it, and walk in its light. It is referred to the beginning of the second century, and was probably written in some Jewish college in Babylonia, where the faith of the chosen people was fed and nourished by study.

(iii) We pass to a prophetic passage, reminiscent of the second Isaiah. Jerusalem encourages her children in their affliction, and prophesies a new dawn. This is succeeded by a message of cheer from God to her, which is almost identical with the eleventh of the Psalms of Solomon, probably written about 50 B.C., *i. e.* about a hundred and fifty years before, since it seems to reflect a period of peace, for it runs—

". . . God hath appointed that every high mountain,
and the everlasting hills, should be made low,
And the valleys filled up to make plain the road,
That Israel may go safely in the glory of God.
Moreover the woods and every sweet-smelling tree
have overshadowed Israel,
For God shall lead Israel with joy in the light of
His glory,
With the mercy and righteousness that cometh
from Him." (V. 7–9.)

[1] Oesterley, p. 500.

The Epistle of Jeremiah

The seventy-three verses of this Epistle are joined on to Baruch in the Vulgate, but the Septuagint places them after Lamentations, under a separate title.

It is directed against the danger of idolatry, and recalls such passages as Jer. x. 1–16 and Isa. xlix. 9–19.

It is not at all easy to date it. As unfaithfulness usually attacked Israel in days of peace and prosperity, there is a presumption against its having been written either during the Maccabæan struggle, or the war that ended in the fall of Jerusalem. Thus we may either place it in the time of John Hyrcanus (*circa* 110 B.C.), or a hundred years later. In contrast to such conclusions we have the opinion of Prof. C. J. Ball that it is the translation of a Hebrew original, produced to counteract the actual danger of Jews in Babylon adopting idolatry about 306 B.C.

Note.—Edition in *Temple Apocrypha* (Dent).

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES

MANASSES, in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12 *seq.*, is the typical penitent. He has exceeded the Jewish kings in wickedness; he is punished, repents, and is restored to his kingdom. Both in verses 12–13 and 18–19 the chronicler tells us that he "prayed." It was natural, therefore, that a prayer should appear in later days purporting to be his. Whether the prayer that bears his name was a penitential psalm of a general character that became identified with his name, or whether it was actually written by some pious Jew as "the Prayer of Manasses," it is difficult to decide. "*I have set up abominations and have multiplied detestable things*," if it is an original verse of the Prayer, would seem to make the latter opinion the most probable, referring to his enormities as related in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6.

The prayer is preserved in the Christian second or third century writing known as the *Didascalia*, which forms the first six books of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, compiled not later than the sixth century. It is there given to illustrate the power of repentance, and the depth of God's mercy. It consists of fifteen verses, and includes Invocation of God (1–7), Confession of Sin (8–10), Plea for Forgiveness (11–15). "The prayer," says Dr. Oesterley,[1] "is a beautiful one, finely constructed, full without being drawn out, and breathing throughout deep personal religion. It is certainly one of the best pieces in the Apocrypha." It is probable that it was written about the beginning of the first century B.C.

[1] Oesterley, p. 404.

ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF DANIEL

I.—The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children

This block of literary matter appears in all the Greek MSS. of the Book of Daniel between vv. 23 and 24 of chapter iii. It does not occur in the Aramaic text. In the A.V. and R.V. it is headed "'The Song of the Three Holy Children,' which followed in the third chapter of Daniel after this place—*fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace* (ver. 23). That which followeth is not in the Hebrew, to wit, *And they walked*—unto these words, *Then Nebuchadnezzar* (ver. 24)."

As the ordinary text shows no reason why Nebuchadnezzar should be "astonished," it seems obvious that this long interpolation has taken the place of something similar, which has been lost from the Hebrew.

The passage divides itself under analysis into two pieces of narrative, the Prayer of Azariah, and the Song of the Three Children. The first piece of narrative (vv. 1 and 2) links it on to the context, the second relates the heating of the furnace, the burning of the attendants, and the descent of the Angel of the Lord.

The prayer acknowledges the justice of God's judgements on Jerusalem, bewails the cruelty and wickedness of her enemy, recalls the promises made to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and describes the forlorn state of the Jews, "without prince, or prophet, or leader, or burnt-offering, or sacrifice, or oblation, or incense, or place to offer before Thee and to find

mercy." In return for penitence it asks for restoration and judgement on the enemy.

The song with its refrain, "*Sing and highly exalt Him for ever*," is the *Benedicite* of the Prayer Book, with a Preface of Blessing, and an ascription. In its joyous note of union in the worship of God with all things created there is a great contrast to the depressed tone of the prayer which precedes it. And indeed there seems no reason why the two should be linked together. Both compositions seem to have originally referred to events other than those recorded in Daniel. The name "Azariah" seems to be the reason of the inclusion of the prayer; the writer may well have been an Azariah of the time of the persecution of Antiochus. Had one of the children prayed thus he could hardly have described Jerusalem as "without a prophet" in the early days of the exile.

The Song, again, seems to be a psalm written in days of prosperity, when the Temple was the centre of worship. Its presence in this context is an enigma.

It would seem that the interpolator wished to connect the two ideas of national penitence and the glory of the Creator to comfort his countrymen under the stress of persecution, and selected these two compositions for the purpose.

II.—Susanna

It is practically certain that the scene of the story of Susanna was originally set in a township in Palestine, and that it had no connection with Daniel or Babylon in the days of the exile. Scholars are agreed that the original story bears every mark of having been written in the latter years of Alexander Jannæus, king and high-priest 103–76 B.C., and that it was a tract intended to support the reform of the law, whereby the accused gained the benefit

of cross-examination of witnesses. As we know that it was something of a burning question between Pharisees and Sadducees whether false witnesses should suffer death on the score of intention, or only in the event of their victims having been executed before the discovery of their fraud, the Pharisees holding the former and the Sadducees the latter view, we can well understand the *motif* of the story. The reform in the legal process is associated in the Mishna with the name of Simon ben Shetach, who, as the brother-in-law of Alexander, is supposed by Ball to have been instrumental in securing the triumph of the Pharisaic party (*Pirkê Aboth*, i. 9, Ball (*Wace*, ii. 305–360).

It seems probable that a tradition of the story became involved in the Daniel-cycle, and the scene moved to the Babylon of three centuries before.

So far as the story is concerned, the Jewish tendency noticeable in the stories of Jael, Esther, and Judith to make a woman the means of deliverance again runs its course. It is well and dramatically told, and the characters stand out clearly. The simple issues of passion and purity, which are the abiding theme of romance, exercise their unfailing attraction.

The story is familiar to all. The young wife of Joakim attracts the evil desire of his two friends, who were judges. They agree to surprise her together, and on so doing tell her that if she refuses to yield to them, they will accuse her of being unfaithful to her husband with a young man in the garden. She raises an alarm, and has no means of proving her innocence when accused. As she is being led out to die, a youth named Daniel stops them, and insists on the right of cross-examination. He questions the two accusers separately, and their accounts do not tally. They are, therefore, both gagged and hurled down a chasm.

Such was the original story. It is plain that its transfer to Babylon only introduces impossible complications. The exiles could hardly have had pleasure

gardens and hundreds of retainers, nor had Babylon a *stadium*, on which the interest of the tale partly turns. It is fairly certain, too, that in the middle second century Daniel was a semi-angelic person, and could hardly have been treated of in the tone of this book. It was after the reform had been achieved that it became possible to add picturesque additions to what was at first a homely and useful parable. Shakespeare's familiarity with the Apocrypha is shewn in *The Merchant of Venice*, where Portia is a "A Daniel come to judgement."

III.—Bel and the Dragon

In Bel and the Dragon we have the third addition appended to Daniel in the Greek and Latin versions. This was done because it gave illustrations of Daniel's wisdom and faith in the true God. Its origin was quite distinct, and it was translated from a Hebrew original, which has perished.

It is no doubt later than our Book of Daniel, which is usually placed 160 B.C., and it was probably written in Palestine in a similar period of persecution to that which produced the longer book. The reign of Antiochus VII. (139–128 B.C.) is suggested, as he followed the example of Antiochus Epiphanes in persecuting the Jewish religion.

The book gives two distinct stories; the first, that of Bel, relates how Daniel, "who lived with the King, and was honoured among all his friends," refused to worship the image of the Babylonian God Bel or Marduk. We are not given any details of the worship, except the provision of large quantities of food and wine, that were left in the temple, and consumed during the night. By sprinkling ashes on the floor, Daniel proves that the priests and their families removed the victuals when the temple was closed, entering by secret doors. So the King has the image destroyed, and the priests killed.

The story of the Dragon, founded on some serpent-worship at Babylon, or a tradition of such a cult, of which there is good evidence from inscriptions, tells how Daniel, refusing to bow down, claims that he will destroy the beast, in which the God is supposed to be. He therefore gives it a cake, composed of pitch, fat, and hair, which causes the serpent to burst asunder. As there is a popular outcry, Daniel is thrown into the den of lions, where he remains for seven days. He is miraculously fed by the prophet Habakkuk, who is transported by the hair of his head by the Angel of the Lord from Palestine, as he is on the way to his field taking his reapers their food. This incident seems to be a later excrescence. He is finally released, and his accusers, consigned to the den by the King, are devoured.

It seems best to regard this as simply a "snake" story, without any connection with the mythical "dragon" myth. There is considerable evidence for snake-worship at Babylon. The Greek δράκων is simply "snake," as is plain from Homer.

Bel and the Dragon does not throw much light on Hebrew religion, beyond the belief in a living God, as opposed to idolatry. The Habakkuk incident seems to show the demand for marvel, and descriptions of angelic mediation from those who found the story too tame and colourless.

Note.—Cf. Daubeny: *The Three Additions to Daniel.* 1906.

ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF ESTHER

THE additions to the Book of Esther are six passages generally known by the first six letters of the alphabet, which were added to the Greek translation of Esther some time after it appeared in 114 B.C. In our A.V. and R.V., placed as they are together as an Appendix, their *motif* is less intelligible than in the Septuagint, where they are fitted naturally into the narrative. Their relegation to an Appendix was due to Jerome. They are the work of Hellenistic Jews of the same date as the Book of Wisdom, though, unlike Wisdom, their character is that of simple Jewish piety, unmixed with Alexandrian speculation. Their pious tone has suggested to some that they were intended to leaven a canonical book, which may have seemed of too secular a character, a book which does not once mention the name of God.

Their true position and contents are as follows—

A. [Before Esther i. 1.] Mordecai dreams of two great dragons, portending war. The righteous cry, and a small spring of water appears and grows into a great river. When he wakes he discovers the plot of two enemies against the King's life, and is promoted in consequence.

B. [Between iii. 13 and iii. 14.] An imaginary copy of the letter of Artaxerxes, mentioned in Esther, iii. 13.

C. [After iv. 7.] The prayer of Mordecai, and the prayer of Esther: "Put eloquent speech into my mouth before the lion . . . save us by Thy hand, and help me who *stand* alone, and have none save Thee, O Lord."

D. [Follows C.] Describes Esther's appearance

before the King. "She herself was radiant in the perfection of her beauty, and her countenance was happy and lovely: but her heart was stricken with fear."

E. [Between viii. 12 and viii. 13.] The letter of Artaxerxes annulling his former letter about the Jews.

F. [Concludes the book.] Mordecai's dream is interpreted. He and Haman were the two dragons, and Esther the spring that became a river. The concluding postscript, stating that the translation of Esther was brought to Egypt in the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra (*i. e.* 114 B.C.) by "Dositheus, who said he was a priest and a Levite, and Ptolemæus his son," is generally regarded as authentic, but limited in its reference to the canonical book, not including the Additions.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

OR "THE LITTLE GENESIS"

THE Book of Jubilees was written towards the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus, the great Maccabæan high priest and ruler, who inherited from his father Simon, and defended by his energy and tact amid a welter of contending powers around Palestine, the prosperous and independent kingdom that had been won by the indomitable spirit of his family. This would mean that the book appeared some time between 110 B.C. and 105 B.C., the year of John's death, after a reign of twenty-nine years.

During his reign the position of the Jewish parties had become fixed and determined, and the outstanding event of his later years was his passing from the ranks of the Pharisees to those of the Sadducees. The reason given by Josephus for his desertion of the Pharisees was that they had circulated scurrilous stories about his legitimacy.

During his reign, too, there had been a continuous Hellenistic influence upon Jewish thought and life, no longer, of course, pressed by the sword of Seleucid autocracy, but making its way by natural and peaceful penetration.

We now know a great deal more about the standpoint of the two great Jewish parties than we did, and are able to discount some of the statements of Josephus with regard to them. We see better, too, their attitude to the disintegrating forces of Hellenism. We are learning to realize that the Sadducee was not a characteristically worldly, sceptical, or irreligious person, and that the Pharisee, so far from

seeking "separation" from the people, was the offspring of the people and the mouthpiece of their traditions. It was because the Sadducee was loyal to the Law as it stood that in rejecting the popular oral traditions he appeared cold and lacking in fervour. It was because he generally happened to be aristocratic that he came into more sympathetic touch with foreign culture. It was because the Pharisee believed in the inspiration of oral tradition, and the value of comments and Midrash accumulated by the wise, that he spoke more decidedly for Judaism undiluted by Hellenism, although he was no doubt to some extent unconsciously affected by non-Jewish ideas.

The Book of Jubilees is regarded by most scholars as a Pharisaic work, "the most triumphant manifesto of legalism." Yet there are some who think that it might have been worked over by a Sadducee, as the Sadducee was as loyal to the written law as the Pharisee.

The writer re-edits Genesis and Exodus from his own point of view. His object is to throw back the legal enactments of his religion into the earliest age, and to prove them to be bound up with the earliest revelation, unalterable, eternal. Thus the Jewish Feasts are observed by the Patriarchs, the angels submit to the rite of circumcision, and death is laid down as the universal penalty of breaking the Sabbath. The obligations of the Law are as real for heaven as earth; they are the special glory and crown of the Jew. Therefore they *must* have been made binding on the earliest ancestors of the Jewish race. And the lives of the Patriarchs under the guidance of the Law have to be purified as far as possible from offensive elements; thus Jacob is cleared from verbal falsehood by equivocation when he answers, "I am thy son," to Jacob's question, "Art thou my very son Esau?" All this is anti-Hellenistic; it buttresses the exclusive spirit of the Jewish race; it paints them as from the beginning admitted to the knowledge of

the highest truth written in the heavenly tablets. What culture of Greece or Rome, what reasoning of philosopher or imagination of poet, could compete with this? The Jew had but to learn and follow the Law, and he was in possession of the ideal.

The literary interest of "Jubilees" lies in the large mass of Midrashic matter, which is incorporated into the story. It is always picturesque and quaint, and comes from many delightfully *naïve* and child-like regions of thought and fancy. There is, too, a fine grandeur in the continuous insistence on the greatness of God, the certainty of His care, and the beauty of a simple obedience and trust. We have the curious Midrash when Adam leaves the garden: "And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they could no longer speak; for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and one tongue" (iii. 28). As another example we may take this from the youth of Abraham: "And the seed-time came for the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth to protect their seed against the ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years. And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said: 'Descend not: return to the place whence ye came,' and they proceeded to turn back. And he caused the cloud of ravens to turn back that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land where Abram was there settled there not so much as one. And all who were with him throughout all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great throughout all the land of the Chaldees. And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went with them till the time of sowing ceased; and they sowed their land, and that year they brought enough grain home and ate and were satisfied. And in the

first year of the fifth week Abram taught those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the ground, facing the frame of the plow, in order to put the seed therein, and the seed fell down therefrom upon the share of the plow, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the ravens" (xi. 18–24).

The temptation of Abraham is regarded as similar to that of Job. There were "voices in heaven" attesting his love of God and faithfulness. Then "the Prince Mastêmâ" came and suggested that he would fail if tried by the command to sacrifice his son.

"And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again through his wife when she was torn from him, and with circumcision; and had tried him through Ishmael and Hagar when he sent them away. And in everything wherein He had tried him, he was found faithful, and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act; for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord."

He thus describes the death of Abraham: "And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet, and slept the sleep of eternity, and was gathered to his fathers. And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham his father was dead. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and beheld Abraham was cold as ice, and he said: 'Father! Father!' but there was none that spoke. And he arose from his bosom, and went and told Rebecca his mother; and Rebecca went to Isaac his father in the night and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead" (xxiii. 1–5).

The reconciliation of Jacob and Esau by their

mother before her death is very beautifully told. Esau swears that he will love him, and not desire evil against him, but good only. But after Isaac's death he appears in arms, and when Jacob rebukes him for breaking his oath, he says, "Neither the children of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have sworn an oath valid for ever:

If the boar can change its skin, and make its bristles
as soft as wool,
Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head
like a stag or sheep,
Then will I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee.

In the great battle that followed Jacob bends his bow and shoots Esau with his own hand, and reduces Edom to servitude.

The story of Joseph is not so fully told, nor the life of Moses, with which the book ends.

Thus the book covers the story of Genesis and Exodus from the Creation to the time of Moses, to whom it is unfolded directly by the Angel of the Presence on the Mount, and is remarkable for the mass of detail that generations of pious thinkers had blended with the original story, and for the evident intention of the writer to exalt the law, to show the superiority of the children of Jacob, and to assure them of their great destiny.

Upon the last stage of this they had already entered, and the advent of the Messiah who would spring from the Jewish race was to be expected in their own days. The author of Jubilees was not alone in teaching that the Messianic era was closely associated with the Maccabæan rule. Some had even gone so far as to identify Simon or John Hyrcanus with the Messiah. And indeed there was much in the prosperity and vitality of the country which seemed to fulfil the Old Testament prophecies. We are here taught that it was to come without cataclysm

in a gradual and progressive human development. So the Angel of the Presence, after describing the enormities of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the horrors of the civil wars after 162 B.C., paints a time of reformation:

"And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,
And they shall rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries.
And the righteous shall see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And shall see all their judgements and curses upon their enemies,
And their bones shall rest in the earth,
And their spirits shall have much joy,
And they shall know that it is the Lord who executes judgement,
And shows mercy to thousands and thousands, and to all that love Him." (XXIII. 30–32).

A strongly Pharisaic element in the book is the prominence and activity of the spiritual world of angels and demons, and their nearness to the life of man. It is the Angel of the Presence who unfolds the revelation. He and his compeers have it in their power to bind Mastêmâ, or Satan, the prince of the demons. The angels were created on the first day with the heavens and the earth: "All the spirits which serve before Him—the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels of fire, and the angels of the winds, and clouds, and darkness, and of snow, and of hail and of hoar-frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and lightning, and of the spirits of cold and of heat"—in short, of all natural phenomena. The demons are the spirits of the giants, who were the offspring of the heavenly watchers, sent down to instruct mankind, who "saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and took them wives" [Gen. vi. 2]. For their offence they were "bound in the depths of the earth," and

their giant offspring destroyed. Their "demons," however, have the power to corrupt mankind under the leadership of Mastêmâ, until the judgement and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom.

It is hardly necessary to point out how closely this teaching is either allegorically or literally reproduced in the New Testament (*see* Rev. vii. 1, 2, xiv. 18, xvi. 5; Matt. xii. 43–5; Luke xi. 24–6; Mark iii. 22; Matt. viii. 29; Rev. xx. 2–3).

The title of the book refers to the peculiar reckoning of chronology employed by the writer—a Sadducæan trait. The forty-nine years of the Jubilee are divided into seven year-weeks, and events are dated as occurring on a day of a month in one of these. The writer includes fifty Jubilees between the Creation and the entry into Canaan, and, in opposition to the strongly defended Pharisaic reckoning, adopts the regulations of the year by the solar, not the lunar, revolutions.

Whether the writer was a Pharisee or a Sadducee, the book gives us an uncompromising picture of the heart of Judaism a century before the birth of Christ. We are led into a world where the strongest forces of traditional piety are used to impress upon a people tempted to dally with heathen thought and customs the eternal excellence of their Law. We are in the atmosphere of those who believe firmly in a righteous, if also a capricious, God, who, having shown the path, will most surely judge those who refuse to walk in it. Spiritual presences are present, in man and in the world, both to tempt and to aid. The Providence of God is leading, for the Jew is ever optimistic, to the kingdom of Messiah. And with such religious certainties are interwoven the fanciful and quaint ideas with which generations had embroidered the story of the Patriarchs. We meet also the sterner and less pleasing side of Jewish conviction—its bondage to the letter, its inhuman stress on the details of duty, its intense national pride, and utter contempt for the tribes without the Law. In all its fine

qualities and in all its narrow aspects it is the world into which Christ was born. Nay! He speaks the nobler accents of its language: He is bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh. We cannot understand Him, or His struggle with the forces around Him, without understanding this Jewish world. That which He took for His own and baptized with living water for the whole world's use is here, and that which rose against Him, and cried, "We will not have this man to be our King," is here also.

Note.—S.P.C.K. edition, by Charles (1917).

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

THE writing of pseudonymous epistles was a favourite form of literature in the Roman world. We must not, therefore, be surprised that the Letter of Aristeas, which claims to be the work of a courtier of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.) and to give an account of contemporaneous events, turns out upon examination to belong to a later date. It contains several statements which make so early a date as the reign of the great Ptolemy impossible, but scholars are not yet agreed as to its real date. Schürer would place it 200 B.C., some German critics as late as A.D. 33, while Dr. Andrews follows Wendland in selecting 96–93 B.C., and supposes it underwent some editing by a later hand.

The Jewish motive throughout is far too obvious for it to have been written by a Greek courtier. The writer is evidently a Pharisaic Jew who adopts the Hellenic disguise in order to introduce his defence of his own religion and nation more easily into Gentile hands. It has been compared to a modern historical novel written with a purpose. This purpose was partly political and partly religious. The sections which deal with the generous action of Ptolemy in releasing his father's Jewish prisoners were no doubt written with a political object, while the description of the translation of the Scriptures by the seventy-two, and the account of the Holy Land, Jerusalem, and the Temple and its services, together with the seventy-two questions solved by the translators, are meant to exalt the Jewish religion, and are fine instances of the constant characteristics of the race. It should

be remembered that the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek was a real landmark, and afforded an unparalleled opportunity amid the decay of religions for Jewish proselytism.

The letter is dedicated to Philocrates, the writer's brother: "My brother in character no less than in blood, but one with me as well in the pursuit of goodness," and begins by telling how Demetrius of Phalerum, the president of the King's library, lamented to the King that among the 200,000 volumes under his charge there was no translation of the Sacred Scriptures of the Jews. Ptolemy determined to remedy the deficiency, and selected Aristeas to go on an embassy to Jerusalem to request the High Priest Eleazar to send a body of scholars to translate the Scriptures at Alexandria. Aristeas thinks this an excellent opportunity to press the King to emancipate the large number of Jews who had been transported from Palestine by his father, some 30,000 of whom were acting as garrisons of the country districts. He suggests that this will be a *quid pro quo* for the privilege, hitherto granted to none, of having the Hebrew Scriptures translated into his own tongue. The King agrees to emancipate the captives, and pays their owners twenty drachmæ a head, the total amount being no less a sum than 660 talents.

In the copy of the decree which is inserted, and which should ever guide the policy of conquerors, Ptolemy says—

"We think that it was against our father's will and against all propriety that they should have been made captives. The spoil which fell to the soldiers on the field of battle was all the booty they should have claimed. To reduce the people to slavery in addition was an act of absolute injustice."

The King sends a gift of 100 talents of silver to Eleazar for the Temple sacrifices, and devotes fifty talents of gold, and seventy of silver, and a wealth of precious stones to the fashioning of fifty libation

cups, five bowls, and a magnificent table for the offerings in the Temple, the making of which he personally superintended. This wonderful table with its "mæander" of rubies, emeralds, and onyx, its immense ruby pedestal, and its feet carved like lilies supporting the top, is elaborately described, and gives one no doubt a correct impression of the luxury and artistry of the time. Eleazar grants the King's request, "unusual as it is," and selects six members from each tribe to accompany Aristeas to Alexandria.

A most interesting account of the Temple, city, and country is here interposed, reproduced, it is thought, from a lost work of Hecatæus, and is followed by a disquisition on the enactments of the laws that deal with food, justifying them on allegorical grounds in the manner usual among Alexandrian Jews.

The elders are received with all ceremony by the King, and entertained magnificently for seven days before they begin their labours, the King seating himself with them each night at the banquet. An opportunity is thus given for a display of the gnomic wisdom of the East, Ptolemy nightly propounding twelve questions or problems, which are answered in turn by the elders from Jerusalem.

At the end of the week they are installed in a house on the Pharos Island, where they work daily till three o'clock "in a place which was delightful for its quiet and its brightness," and complete their translation in seventy-two days. It is then read in the presence of the Jewish population, declared to be quite accurate, and a curse is pronounced against any who should tamper with it. Ptolemy receives the scrolls with great satisfaction, and dismisses the translators laden with costly presents.

Such is the account of the origin of the Septuagint, accepted by Josephus, legendary, of course, but free from the marvellous additions of later writers. The whole story is most cleverly contrived to throw every possible ray of glory on the Law and the race that

possessed it, and it must have been a useful instrument for Jewish propaganda.

The description of the Temple with its high walls, inexhaustible supply of water, and wonderful cisterns is no doubt accurate : " They led me more than four furlongs outside the city and bade me peer down towards a certain spot and listen to the noise that was made by the meeting of the waters, so that the great size of the reservoirs became manifest to me."

We are shown the orderly and reverent ministration of the 700 priests, each with his own task, to bring wood, or oil, or fine wheat flour, or spices. Some with brawny arms bring the flesh for the burnt-offering, throwing the limbs of a calf weighing more than two talents " with each hand in a wonderful way on to the high place of the altar, and never miss placing them on the proper spot." Others rest hardby till their turn comes, and the place is so still that you would think no human being was present. Then we are told of the majestic Eleazar with his golden bells and variegated pomegranates, his coloured girdle, and the oracle on his breast inscribed with the tribal names, each precious stone " flashing forth in a wondrous way its own particular colour" : his tiara with the sacred names in sacred letters on a plate of gold. " He created such awe and confusion of mind as to make one feel one had come into the presence of a being from another world."

We ascend the citadel that frowns above the Temple with its towers and strong fortifications, its warlike engines and machines, and its 500 guardsmen, who are only allowed to leave their post on feast-days in detachments, and from thence look down upon the city, with its terraced roads, on which the temple-worshippers pass up and down. Their land is of small area, but the Jews are described as an agricultural people cultivating abundant crops, and pasturing great herds of cattle. " The land is thickly planted with multitudes of olive-trees, with crops of corn and pulse, with vines too, and there is

abundance of honey." The country is a commercial one as well: it handles the gold and precious stones and spices brought in by the Arabs; it has convenient harbours at Askalon, Gaza, Joppa, and Ptolemais; the Jordan is useful for irrigation; and it owes much to the natural defences of its narrow passes, overhanging rocks, and deep ravines. Such is the smiling picture of Palestine given by this writer of the first century before Christ.

The disquisition on the Law put into the mouth of Eleazar paints it as " an impregnable rampart and wall of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole creation." Its disciplinary ordinances are all directed to impress virtue and righteousness on the heart of Israel. Thus the clean animals in their habits present an image of peace and holiness, while the unclean are symbolic of a wild and tyrannous character. " The division of the hoof " and " the separation of the claws " remind us of man's duty and privilege to discriminate between evil and good in every action, and to abhor the promiscuous sexual intercourse of the Gentiles. " The chewing of the cud " is a parable of man's gift of memory, the power he can exercise of remembering the Divine Presence and energy morning, noon and night. The symbols on the garments and on the door-posts of the Jew are likewise, as it were, God's expedient to keep His people mindful of Him. Above all, the sacrifices always of tame animals and never of wild, had its own deep symbolism, " for," said Eleazar, " he who offers a sacrifice makes an offering also of his own soul in all its moods."

One can realize how eagerly the nobler souls of heathenism must have turned from their polluted rites and contending philosophies to so pure and rational a conception of God and Duty.

With regard to the seventy-two gnomic answers

of the elders to Ptolemy, they need scarcely detain us. Their wisdom is that of the Proverbs; the greatness of God and the littleness of man is their keynote, and one seems to know the answer before the question is ended. Thus when the King asked, "What is the highest form of glory?" the answer was, "To honour God, and this is not done with gifts and sacrifices, but with purity of soul and holy conviction, since all things are governed and fashioned by God in accordance with His will; of this purpose you are in constant possession, as all men can see from your achievements in the past and in the present."

Some of the answers are of a domestic character; thus the way for a husband to live amicably with his wife is "by recognizing that women are by nature headstrong, and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and their nature is essentially weak."

The object of this part of the letter is, of course, to magnify the intellectual power and moral insight of the Jews. Thus heathen readers were prepared by Aristeas for the study of the Old Testament Scriptures by a picture of the extravagant generosity that Ptolemy showed the descendants of the patriarchs, by an attractive account of their outward worship, by a panegyric of the purity and truth of their teaching, and by an elaborate exhibition of their intellectual readiness and moral discernment.

Note.—S.P.C.K. edition, by Thackeray (1917).

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

THE Greek "Apocalypse of Moses" embodied a mass of legend relating to Adam after the expulsion from Paradise. It was translated with the addition of further legendary matter into the Latin "Life of Adam and Eve." With Christian interpolations it was translated into many languages, and, united with the story of the Holy Rood, was a popular book both in East and West in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The original work was certainly Jewish, the Christian additions being obvious patches.

It is always difficult to date a work that contains no allusions to historical events. The best authorities are hesitating. Prof. Host thought it might have been written any time during the first three Christian centuries. Mr. L. S. A. Wells places it between A.D. 60 and 300, and as it contains no anti-Christian polemic considers it was more probably written in the earlier years of that period by a Jew of the Dispersion. The Latin "Life" would not be much later.

The "Apocalypse" begins with Eve's dream about the death of Abel, but the "Life" tells first of the penance of Adam and Eve, standing up to their necks in the water of Jordan. It has the quaint fancy that the swimming creatures at Adam's invitation came and mourned with him. Satan then comes and persuades Eve to leave the water, and in answer to her rebuke recounts the story of his fall, how his rebellion had followed God's command that the angels should worship His new-made creature man: "Worship the image of God as the Lord God hath commanded." Eve bears Cain, her birth-pangs being

assuaged by two angels and two virtues, and "at once the babe ran, and bore a blade of grass in his hand, and took it to his mother."

Then the "Apocalypse" begins, and tells of Eve's dream and of the murder of Abel, and the birth of Seth and Adam's thirty sons and thirty daughters. The account of Adam's vision here follows in the "Life," which is a prophetic and apocalyptic passage, with Christian additions. And last comes the pathetic scene of the death of Adam: he recounts to Seth as he lies in pain how the Lord had said, "Since thou hast abandoned My covenant I have brought upon the body seventy-two strokes; the trouble of the first stroke is a pain of the eyes, the second stroke an affection of the hearing. . . ." He sends Eve and Seth towards Paradise to bring him "of the tree out of which the oil floweth," and on the way Seth is assailed by the serpent. Outside Paradise the Angel Michael tells them that in no wise can the oil be given till the last days, and that Adam must die in six days. So they go back bearing herbs of fragrance, nard, crocus, calamus, and cinnamon. When they reach home Adam bids them call all his children and grandchildren together that Eve may tell them the story of their fall. In her account she tells how the devil poured on the forbidden fruit "the poison of his wickedness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin," and how Adam departed from Paradise bearing fragrant herbs for incense to offer to God, and seed to sow for his food.

And Eve said, "How is it that thou diest, and I live, or how long have I to live after thou art dead? Tell me!" And Adam saith, "Reck not of this, for thou tarriest not after me, but even both of us are to die together. And you shall be laid in my place. But when I die anoint me, and let no man touch me till the angel of the Lord shall speak somewhat concerning me. For God will not forget me, but will seek His own creature."

When Adam dies Eve sees him borne away by the chariot of the Seraphim, and the angels praying for his pardon, and at length he is borne to rest in the third heaven. His body is transferred to Paradise by the Lord Himself together with that of Abel, and prepared for burial. He is buried in the place where God found the dust. "And God called and said, 'Adam, Adam.' And the body answered from the grave and said, 'Here am I, Lord.' And God saith to him: 'I told thee that earth thou art, and to earth shalt thou return. Again I promise thee the Resurrection. I will raise thee up in the Resurrection, with every man who is of thy seed."

In six days Eve also dies, but before death she prays to be buried with Adam: "Just as in our transgression we were both led astray and transgressed Thy command but were not separated—even so, Lord, do not separate us now." So the angels came and buried her with Adam and Abel.

The most striking thing in these legends is the extremely crude and anthropomorphic ideas of God. It goes far beyond the primitive records of Genesis, and shows what the Jewish public appreciated, in spite of the elaborate spiritualizing of Old Testament conceptions that had gone on in Alexandria.

The teaching about the Future Life, the Resurrection, the Judgement, and the state of departed souls in the third heaven is that of later Judaism.

The book is full of the poetry that the dying figure of Adam cannot fail to evoke, and there are many sayings in it about death and life which by their *naïve* simplicity touch the roots of human feeling. It is from this book that Mr. Binyon has drawn the materials for his striking poem, "The Death of Adam."

Note.—The Book is most accessible in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. II. (Wells).

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

The Martyrdom of Isaiah is combined with the Vision of Isaiah and the Testament of Hezekiah to form the Ascension of Isaiah, which were the work of Christian writers. But the Martyrdom is by a Jew, who agrees in his account with the Talmud, which states that a document was found in Jerusalem describing Isaiah's death. Of this Jewish record the Martyrdom is probably a Greek translation; as it seems to be quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 37), it is probably a first-century document.

It tells how Hezekiah calls Manasseh, his son, and Isaiah, and gives them his last command (i. 1–2). The prophet foretells Manasseh's apostasy and his own martyrdom, which nothing that Hezekiah can do can prevent (i. 6–13). Hezekiah dies, and Manasseh gives himself up to all kinds of sin (ii. 1–7). Isaiah departs to Bethlehem, and then to the mountains, where he stays two years with the prophets fasting and lamenting (ii. 10–16). Belchira, a false prophet discovers him, and accuses him to Manasseh, on the grounds that he had professed to see God, and had called Jerusalem Sodom, and its princes and people Gomorrah (iii. 1–12). Isaiah is sawn asunder (v. 1–14).

The "wooden saw" of the Greek is a misunderstanding of the Hebrew original, which must have been "a saw for sawing wood."

Dr. Charles connects the story with a Persian legend of King Djemchid, for whom God caused a tree to open to conceal him from his rival; by the help of

Iblis he is discovered, and the tree is sawn asunder with Djemchid inside it.

The story has its basis no doubt in 2 Kings xxi. 16, and is an example of a Jewish *Midrash.*

An attempt has been made by M. Halévy (*Etudes evangeliques,* I. pp. 65 ff.) to find in it a source of the story of our Lord's Temptation. The idea is very properly dismissed by Canon Box in his edition in this series as far-fetched. The account of Isaiah's temptation is "remote both in substance and in spirit from the sublime narrative in the Gospels." Canon Box finds interesting light on the Jewish demonology of the period in the book. Thus we have Beliar (= Belial) as a name of the Prince of evil spirits. He is "the Angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world (cf. John xii. 31, xvi, 11, 2 Cor. iv. 4, Eph. vi. 12). Sammael also appears, the "Venom of God," here represented as "chief of the Satans" (cf. Matt. ix. 34). He is regarded by Canon Charles as the subordinate of Beliar, executing his orders. Belial also has the mysterious name of Matanbûchûs, which Halévy thinks expresses the power of the demon "to take possession" (Hebrew MITHDABEK).

The designation of the Messiah as "The Beloved" is also a characteristic of the book, though it remains undecided whether it was in the Jewish version before it was included in the Ascension of Isaiah.

Note.—S.P.C.K. edition. Translation, Charles; Introduction, Box.

THE ETHIOPIC BOOK OF ENOCH

The Book of Enoch is by far the most important of the apocalyptic works after Daniel. It is in reality a collection of writings of various dates during the first two centuries B.C. It reflects a great variety of religious ideas not always in harmony with one another, bound together by a unity of tone and outlook, while subject to the development of free intellectual movement. Its earliest portions come from the "pious" predecessors of the Pharisees, while throughout it is representative of the Pharisaic school. By the "pious" Jews, or *Chasidim*, are meant the conservative minority of the pre-Maccabæan age, who refused in any way to absorb Hellenistic culture. In their simple faithfulness to the Law they were opposed to the governing classes. In post-Maccabæan days they became the ancestors both of the Pharisees and of the apocalyptic writers. The Pharisees represented in an exaggerated form their strict adherence to the Law, the Apocalyptists stood for their simple and specifically Jewish faith.[1]

Though almost unknown in the Western Church until recent times, no pseudepigraphic book had a higher place in the Jewish Church of our Lord's day, or a deeper or more extensive influence on the writers of the New Testament. Its return to recognition is due to the great traveller Bruce, who brought back from Abyssinia in 1773 the three MSS. in Ethiopic, from which Lawrence made the first modern translation.

Enoch contains fragments of an older work, the Book of Noah, of whose existence we have independent

[1] See Oesterley, *The Books of the Apocrypha*, p. 93 (quoting Friedländer, *Die rel. Bewegungen*, p. 22).

evidence in the Book of Jubilees. Canon Charles gives the Noah portions scattered through Enoch as chapters vi.–xi., liv.–lv. 2, lx., lxv.–lxix. 25, and cvi. and cvii.

The book was arranged by its last editor in five sections, like the Psalms and other Jewish Books.

Section I. (i.–xxxvi.). This mainly recounts Enoch's pronouncing of God's judgement on the Watchers, the angels who fell through their love for the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 1–4), and his intercession for them. It contains lurid and weird descriptions of the world of Hades.

Section II. (xxxvii.–lxxi.). This contains three "Parables," or apocalyptic revelations, and the account of Enoch's translation.

Section III. (lxxii.–lxxxii.). This is in reality in the main a treatise on astronomy, dealing with the unchanging order of the heavenly bodies.

Section IV. (lxxxiii.–xc.). Enoch recounts to Methuselah his Visions of the Deluge, the Fall of the Angels, and their punishment in the underworld, the deliverance of Noah, the Exodus, the giving of the Law, and the occupation of Palestine, the time of the Judges, the Kingship and the Building of the Temple, and the story of the two Kingdoms to the Fall of Jerusalem. Then come the four periods of angelic rule up to the Maccabæan Revolt, the last assault of the Gentiles, and the Judgement. And last, the foundation of the New Jerusalem, the Conversion of the Gentiles, the Resurrection of the Righteous, and the Advent of the Messiah "the hornèd Lamb, over whom the Lord of the sheep rejoiced."

Section V. (xci.–civ.). This is a book of warning containing the denunciation of woes on sinners, and the promise of blessings on the righteous. It contains an older work, "The Apocalypse of Weeks" (xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–19). It concludes (cv.): "In those days the Lord bade to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: show (it) unto them; for ye are their guides, and a

recompense over the whole earth. For I and My Son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye shall have peace; rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen."

With regard to the dates of the various sections, Canon Charles gives—

Book of Noah, not later than 161 B.C.
Section I., not later than 170 B.C.
Section II., either 94–79 or 70–64 B.C.
Section III., not later than 110 B.C.
Section IV., not later than 161 B.C.
Section V., during oppression of Pharisees, either 95–79 or 70–64 B.C.

With regard to the relation of the Enoch literature to the New Testament, (i.) while in Section I. we have gross and materialistic ideas of the future life, in Section V. we find the spiritual ideas of our Lord expressed in Matt. xxii. 30.

(ii.) While in chapter xc. a human Messiah is suggested as head of the Messianic nation, in Section II. we have a Messiah portrayed, who has the four titles of "Christ," or the Anointed One, the "Righteous One," the "Elect One," and the "Son of Man," which are reproduced in the New Testament. For the first time "Christ" becomes the title of the future ideal Ruler, and the definite title "Son of Man" "is found for the first time in Jewish literature, and is, historically, the source of the New Testament designation, and contributes to it some of its characteristic contents" (Charles).

(iii.) In Enoch we pass from the Old Testament doctrine of the world after death to something more in accord with the New. "The Resurrection," says Canon Charles, "was made a commonplace of Jewish theology by 1 Enoch."

(iv.) The demonic background of the New Testament assumed in the reported teaching of Jesus is essentially the demonology of Enoch. The demons are disembodied spirits awaiting their final punishment, subject to Satan, who is head of a kingdom of

evil, leads men and angels astray, and whose functions are tempting, accusing, and punishing (1 Cor. v. 5). See Matt. viii. 29, xii. 24–28; Matt. iv. 1–12; 2 Cor. xi. 3; Rev. xii. 4 and 10.

The following are typical examples of the reproduction of the actual phraseology of Enoch in the New Testament:

Matt. xix. 28. When the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory.	lxii. 5. When they see that Son of Man [*i.e.* the Messiah] sitting on the throne of his glory.
Ye also shall sit on twelve thrones.	cviii. 12. I will seat each on the throne of honour.
xix. 29. Inherit eternal life.	xl. 9. Inherit eternal life.
xxvi. 24. It had been good for that man if he had not been born.	xxxviii. 2. It had been good for them, if they had not been born.
John v. 22. He hath committed all judgement unto the Son.	lxix. 27. The sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man.
Acts iv. 12. None other name . . . whereby we must be saved.	xlviii. 7. In His [*i.e.* the Messiah's] name they are saved.
1 Cor. vi. 11. Justified in the name of the Lord Jesus.	
Rom. viii. 38. Angels . . . principalities. . . powers.	lxi. 10. Angels of power . . . and angels of principalities.
Col. ii. 3. In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.	xlvi. 3. The Son of Man . . . who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden.
Rev. iii. 20. I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.	lxii. 14. And with that Son of Man shall they [*i.e.* the righteous] eat and lie down and rise up.

The book of Revelation is especially full of reminiscences of Enoch : *e. g.*

The tree of life, ii. 7.
The white raiment, iii. 5.
The angels of the winds, vii. 1.
The star falling from heaven, ix. 1.
The lake of fire, xx. 15.

Note.—S.P.C.K. edition, by Charles.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

In the Library of Cambridge University is the MS. of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs obtained in the thirteenth century by the famous English scholar, Robert Grosseteste, the saintly Bishop of Lincoln. He in his simplicity believed with the men of his day that it contained actually the last words of the twelve sons of Jacob. Scholars of our own time are less simple, and have little difficulty in ascertaining the approximate date of its first appearance; they know that its ascription to the Twelve Patriarchs is but one instance of the custom of apocalyptic writers: they look for information in it about the thought of the age in which it really was produced, and are richly rewarded. This was the time of John Hyrcanus, the very zenith of Maccabæan glory, who at the moment was regarded because of his holding the offices of prophet, priest, and king, and for his military successes, as the actual fulfilment of the hopes of a Messiah. As such he was the idol of the Pharisaic party up to the year 106 B.C., when the deadly breach occurred, which separated him from them. The original book was perhaps written in Hebrew by a Pharisaic admirer who did not scruple to include in his works psalms to his idol of a Messianic character, at any rate before the breach occurred. Interwoven with this original work are later passages that paint the later Hasmonæan rule in the most hostile colours. The dynasty had become corrupt, and the Pharisaic spirit, unchanging in its hopes for the future of Israel, now turned with loathing from the family that had once loomed so large. And thus we have curses of the Hasmonæans intermingled with blessings on their

great predecessor John Hyrcanus. Having been content for a time to waive their conviction that the Messiah would spring from the tribe of Judah, when events taught them their mistake, they returned all the more eagerly to their ancient hope.

Canon Charles regards the chief interest of the work to be its high and spiritual ethical teaching, " which," he says, " has achieved a real immortality by influencing the thought and diction of the writers of the New Testament, and even those of our Lord."

Besides the Jewish additions, which were made somewhere about B.C. 60, we find a number of Christian interpolations of a dogmatic character, which are easily detected. For the book was very popular with the early Church.

Theories have been advanced by some English scholars that all resemblances between the New Testament and the Testaments are due to an editor who transferred matter from the former to the latter. Canon Charles pronounces emphatically against this view. The merely dogmatic interpolations are obvious from their disagreement with the teaching of the book as a whole : " the ethical sayings and teachings are in harmony not only with the spirit of the book as a whole, but also with their respective contexts." [1] So that these theories may be definitely dismissed.

The method of the writer is to give one by one an imaginary speech from the lips of each dying patriarch; they are partly ethical, partly apocalyptic; the ethical teaching springs from the character of the patriarch himself in each case as painted in Genesis or later legend; thus Reuben deals from his own supposed experience with the fire of lust, Simeon with the canker of envy, and Levi exalts the beauty of holiness. The ethical teaching, therefore, is winged with a certain dramatic force, unknown to the more prosaic Wisdom-writers. And then as he looks far down the vista of the future and sees the events of later ages hurrying on to crisis, or established in

[1] *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, O.T.*, II. p. 291.

peace, he seems to burst forth naturally into the great apocalyptic passages, as exalted as any that are preserved, in their assurance of the supernatural righteousness and glory of the Messianic Kingdom, which shall include all nations.

As has been said, the book exerted a strong influence on the New Testament. Canon Charles notes that St. Paul used it as a *vade mecum*, and finds some seventy words in St. Paul's Epistles, common to the Testaments, which are not found elsewhere in the New Testament. The rather strange expression in Rom. i. 32 is really a reproduction of an expression in the Testament of Asher vi. 2. With regard to our Lord's teaching we find in Test. Gad. vi. 3 (β): *If any one sin against thee speak to him in peace . . . and if he repent forgive him* (cf. Matt. xviii. 15).

And the Test. Dan. v. 3 conjoins like Jesus the two chief duties: "Love the Lord in all your life, and one another with a true heart" (cf. Matt. xxii. 37–39). Several cases of identity of expression are to be found.

The author of the Testaments, unlike other Pharisees of his day with whose works we are acquainted, as well as the later interpolator, is a Universalist. He believes that the Gentile world will be saved through Israel. This conviction alone marks the spiritual development that his faith had reached. His doctrine of the Messiah is coloured by the fact that he believed him to spring from the priestly tribe. He is the Mediator, who opens Paradise to the righteous, gives them to eat of the tree of life, binds the spirit of evil, and destroys the reign of sin. As prophet he teaches the holy nation, and as king he rules and destroys its enemies. In the Resurrection, after the rising of the patriarchs and heroes, the righteous will stand on the right hand and the wicked on the left. The New Jerusalem will be founded on earth, and will last for ever.

Note.—S.P.C.K. edition, by Charles.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

THE story of the Cumæan Sibyl, who brought her books of oracles to Tarquin, is a commonplace of Roman History. It was the accepted explanation in the time of Livy of the fact that certain oracular rolls were laid up in the Capitol from the days of the founding of the Roman state, to be referred to for guidance in the hour of national stress. These books play their part in the religion of Rome until their destruction by fire in 82 B.C.; they were then replaced by a selection of similar oracles collected from Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor.

The earliest and most famous of these oracular Sibyls was the Erythræan, but in course of time many were recognized as showing this peculiar form of inspiration. The early Fathers, Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, and Clement of Alexandria, quote from them, while Augustine does not hesitate to admit them to the City of God (*De Civ. Dei.* xviii. 23). There was then a considerable quantity of Sibyllic prophecy in circulation in antiquity in addition to that officially recognized as concerned with the destinies of Rome. Some of it was venerable with age, some of it appeared in response to the needs of the time, novel and fresh. It lay in the archives of private families, it became incorporated in histories, it ran rapidly in its easily remembered hexameters from mouth to mouth, and from land to land. It was a real expression of the sense of divine purpose, the certainty of judgement, the capriciousness of fate, as men felt themselves to be involved in the bewildering stress of events.

We have to ask what the relation of our so-called

Sibylline Books was to this mass of mostly perished literature. These books, originally fifteen in number, now comprise twelve, and consist of over four thousand lines. What is the decision of scholars as to their connection with the heathen utterances?

The answer is that "they are a compilation of old and new oracles worked up by Jewish and Christian authors who lived at various times between 160 B.C. and the fifth century, or even later, A.D." (Lanchester in Charles's *Apoc. and Pseudepig.* ii. 368). It is with the Jewish portion that we have to do here, or rather with the portion that is not decidedly Christian, for we are on very debateable ground. This consists of two fragments, and three books, III., IV., and V. Book III. is probably the work of an Egyptian Jew living about 140 B.C. There is little doubt that he has incorporated large sections of Sibylline work. Notably there is a piece of 700 lines, which may have been the poem of the Erythræan Sibyl, alluded to by Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* i. 6). It tells the story of the Titans and the birth of Zeus, in the manner of Hesiod, and of the building of Babylon, and gives a short summary of Jewish history. The original poem was probably written about 160 B.C. as it refers to Ptolemy Philometer. The whole book has references to the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus 168 B.C. and his attack on Egypt 170 B.C. It refers to the prosperity of the days of Simon 140 B.C. It seems to refer in Roman history to the Mithridatic, Social, Punic and Greek wars of 88, 89, and 146 B.C.

There is a long section pronouncing woes on heathen lands, especially Greece, and eschatological passages which describe the coming of the Messiah, and the signs of the end.

Book IV., after promising a history of the ten generations of the world, turns after the second to denunciation of the wickedness of heathen countries and towns. It contains an eschatological passage, and speaks of the restoration of Laodicea after the earthquake of 60 A.D., the siege of Jerusalem and

the destruction of the Temple, the disappearance of Nero and the strange expectation of his return, and the earthquake in Cyprus of A.D. 76.

Book V., if we neglect the statements of three lines, which seem to be interpolated, seems to have been written in the earlier years of Hadrian, *circa* A.D. 130. It gives a short sketch of history up to Hadrian, and denounces doom on the nations one by one. It includes also a poem on "Pride," a description of Judæa, a striking eschatological passage, and a prophecy of the battle of the stars. There is here, as in the earlier books, much of the local colouring of Egypt, whence the book must have emanated.

The contents of this strange *mélange* of the Western and the Eastern spirits shows clearly enough the motive of their production. To Jew and Christian alike the manner and matter of these widely spread writings appealed as a useful instrument to popularize the truth. So far as these scattered leaves were inspired by the Spirit of God they could, though not written by the children of the Covenant, be pressed into the service of the propaganda of the true faith. The awe that clung around them in the popular mind, and the fulfilment, evident to the trustful, of many of their predictions, procured a respectful hearing for the word of life couched in their ancient form. The Jewish adapter knew nothing of copyright, and coveted no literary fame. He was zealous to proselytize, and to deliver the world that lay in wickedness from its bondage to the flesh and the devil. And with this high aim we see him pouring the ideals of Jewish prophecy through a heathen instrument, and making the venerable figure of the Sibyl the exponent of the Law of Jehovah. If we shrink from the lack of honesty in his methods, it is because we are transferring the literary code of morals in our own time to his. We should at least admire the recognition of the unity of inspiration, revealed to the Jewish thinker in the outpourings of the heathen prophetess and in his own sacred seers.

To give a general idea of the spirit of the Sibyllines let us take a few typical passages showing the attitude of the writer to the idolatry of the heathen world, to the doctrine of the true God, and to the coming judgement and Messianic Kingdom.

Thus he writes of God:

> "There is one sovereign God, ineffable, whose dwelling is in Heaven, self-sprung, unseen yet seeing all himself alone. No mason's hand did make him, nor does some model formed from gold or ivory by the varied skill of man represent him. But he, himself, Eternal, hath revealed himself as One who is, and was before, and shall be hereafter. . . . Ye do not worship nor fear God, but wander at haphazard, bowing down to serpents, and doing sacrifice to cats, and to dumb idols and stone statues of mortals, and sitting down before the doors of godless temples, ye weary the God who ever is, who guards all, taking your delight in miserable stones, forgetting the judgement of the Eternal Saviour, Who created heaven and earth." (III. 11–35.)

And of Rome:

> "O Rome, pampered golden offspring of Latium! Thou virgin intoxicated by thy many suitors in marriage, as a slave-girl shalt thou be wedded without ceremony, and ofttimes shall thy mistress shear thy luxuriant locks, and passing sentence on thee shall cast thee from heaven to earth, and shall lift thee up again from earth to heaven, because men held to a bad and shameless life." (III. 356–361.)

He cries to Greece:

> "Hellas, why dost thou put thy trust in governors, mortal men who are powerless to

escape the consummation of death? With what view dost thou offer vain gifts to the dead, and sacrifice to idols? Who has put error in thy heart, that thou shouldst perform these rites and forsake the face of Mighty God?" (III. 545–549.)

And in his panegyric on his own countrymen he sings of a

"holy race of God-fearing men, adhering to the counsel and the mind of the Most High; who pay full honour to the temple of the Mighty God with drink-offerings and fat-offerings and sacred hecatombs, with sacrifices of lusty bulls and unblemished rams, and piously offer as whole burnt sacrifices rich flocks of firstling sheep and lambs upon the great altar. . . . They raise to heaven holy hands, rising early from their bed, and ever cleansing their flesh with water, and honour him alone who reigns for ever the Eternal, and after him their parents: and more than any men they are mindful of the purity of marriage." (III. 573–595.)

And these verses come from the description of the Messianic age:

"And then from the sunrise God shall send a King, who shall give every land relief from the bane of war; some he shall slay and to others he shall consecrate faithful vows. Nor shall he do these things by his own will, but in obedience to the good ordinances of the Mighty God. . . . From heaven shall fall fiery swords down to the earth; lights shall come bright and great, flashing into the midst of men. . . . And God shall judge all with war and sword, and with fire and cataclysms of rain. . . . Then again all the sons of the great God shall live quietly around the temple, rejoicing in those gifts which He shall

give who is the Creator and sovereign righteous Judge. For he by himself shall shield them standing beside them alone in his might, encircling them as it were with a well of flaming fire. . . And then all the isles and the cities shall say, How doth the Eternal love those men! For all things work in sympathy with them and help them, the heaven and God's chariot, the Sun, and the Moon." (III. 652–712.)

The allusion to Homer as having stolen the Sibyl's measure is famous:

"Then again there shall be an aged man false in writing, and false in birthplace; and the light in his eyes shall set. Yet he shall have much wit and a verse fitted to his thoughts blended under two names. Chian shall he call himself and he shall write the story of Ilium, not truthfully indeed but with poetic skill, for he shall gain possession of my verses and measures. He first shall unfold my books with his hand, and then right well shall he deck out the armed men of war, Hector, Priam's son, and Achilles, born of Peleus, and all the rest who care for doughty deeds. Yea, and he shall make gods stand by the heroes' side, leading astray in every way the mortals of empty head. Their widespread glory will it be to have died in Ilium, but he himself shall receive his recompense." (III. 319–331.)

Note.—S.P.C.K. edition, by Bate (1918).

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

THE fragment known by this name exists in only one MS., which was discovered at Milan and published in 1864. It probably dates from the sixth century A.D. It does not contain any account of the Assumption, and seems to exclude the teaching that Moses was taken up into heaven, and therefore the fragment we have is hardly likely to be even a part of the book from which St. Jude quotes. Our book is rather a "Testament," or farewell-speech, similar to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. It is supposed by Canon Charles, however, that in it we have one portion of a composite work that was known as "The Assumption," and that the other portion has perished. Prof. F. C. Burkitt holds that the original MS. represented a single work, and that the part containing the account of the Assumption has been lost.

From internal evidence there seems every probability that this book was actually written in our Lord's childhood or youth, *i.e.* between A.D. 7 and 30 and its author is a Pharisee of a type fast passing away, a descendant of the ancient "righteous" non-resisting believers in the Law, who while believing in the coming Divine judgement, were content to leave the national future in God's hands, and to make no efforts to work deliverance by violent means. Thus he has no eulogy of the Maccabees, but praises the patient martyr Eleazar who retired with his sons from the evils of the world, and perished in a cave. Canon Charles regards the book as a "direct protest from the inner ring of conservative Pharisaism against the popular secularization of the ideals of the

righteous." These had become "fused with political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs," and required to be led back to the conviction that God would Himself vindicate His purposes. Like our Lord he foresaw the doom to which his country was hastening, and warned her, as has been said, "with the unheeded voice of a Cassandra."

The book describes how Moses at the point of death delivers the sacred books to Joshua; he prophesies the entry into Canaan, the rule of the judges, the kingship, and the breaking-away of the ten tribes. He tells of the corruption of the national religion, and of the captivity under Nebuchadnezzar. He tells how one tribe shall say to another: "Lo, is not this that which Moses did once declare unto us in prophecies? Yea, he declared and called heaven and earth to witness against us that we should not transgress the commandments of the Lord, of which he was the mediator to us." He gives the prayer of Daniel, and the return of the two tribes, and the increase of the ten tribes in captivity. He describes in strong terms the idolatry of the Priests, and the progress of Hellenism, and denounces the Maccabees: "Then shall arise over them kings to reign, and they shall be called Priests of the Most High God, and they shall work impiety in the Holy of Holies," referring to the priesthood being made hereditary in the family of the Maccabees in 141 B.C. He tells of the enormities of Herod, the conquest of the Romans, and the degradation of the leaders of his own day. After the eulogy of the patient Eleazar, he gives a striking apocalyptic passage, and the book concludes with the encouragement of Joshua to undertake with a good courage the heritage of Moses' work. As a review of Jewish history it stands out with marked features, and gives us a particular attitude towards the work of the Maccabees, which we could hardly have suspected to have existed in such strength. It is particularly valuable as showing that among the various parties around our Lord, there was at least one which was

in sympathy with his national aims, though it was the very party which apparently disclaimed any hope of a Messiah.

There are striking similarities in the apocalyptic passage to our Lord's Prophecy of the last things, which raise questions of the deepest interest—

"... For the Heavenly One shall arise from the throne of His Kingdom
And shall come out of His holy habitation
With indignation and wrath for His children.
And the earth shall quake; even to its bounds shall it be shaken:
And the lofty mountains shall be brought low and shall be shaken.
And the valleys shall fall.
The sun shall not give his light, and the horns of the moon shall be turned into darkness,
And they shall be broken, and the whole of the moon shall be turned into blood.
And the circuit of the stars shall be disordered;
And the sea shall fall into the abyss:
The fountains of waters shall fail;
And the rivers be afraid."

(X. 3–7.)

Such passages, which of course are not rare in the apocalyptic writers, enforce the conclusion that our Lord in the language of His apocalyptic teaching was drawing upon a mass of popular and somewhat stereotyped expression that had been passed on from age to age, and aroused a vague and vast sense of coming doom. This consideration relieves us from looking for the literal fulfilment in detail of such of His prophecies, as have to do with the physical world.

Note.—S.P.C.K. edition, by Ferrar (with *Apoc. Baruch*).

THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

THE Book of the Secrets of Enoch is a quite distinct work from the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. It was discovered by Canon Charles to be surviving in a Slavonic version, after remaining unknown for twelve centuries. It was written in Egypt by a Hellenistic Jew early in the first century A.D. It must have been an important work in its day, for it is quoted in most of the apocalyptic books of the first century. It was written in Greek, though it seems to incorporate Hebrew portions. And it is largely pervaded by the Greek spirit, embodying the philosophical ideas of Philo, and neglecting the Old Testament view of the Messiah. The author was an enlightened but orthodox Jew, especially in his teaching on sacrifice, and the future life. He allowed himself full liberty to combine in his work views from very different sources—the Platonic, the Egyptian, and the Zend; and was therefore probably an example of the Jewish culture of Alexandria.

The book tells how in his three hundred and sixty-fifth year Enoch is taken up by the angels, at God's command, and passes through the ten heavens. In the first heaven Enoch sees the angels who rule the stars, and those who keep the storehouses of the snow and of the dew. In the second are the apostate angels, who beseech him to pray for them. The third heaven is Paradise, " and the tree of life is in the midst of the garden, in the place whereon the Lord rests when He goes up into Paradise . . . Its root is in the garden at the world's end." It is the abode of the just and charitable. The abode of the lost is there as well with its gloom and fiery river,

its snow and ice, its thirst and shivering. Through the fourth heaven go the courses of the sun and moon. There are the great gates through which they pass, and Enoch hears the song of the elements of the sun, and the wonderful music of the angels, "sweet and incessant, which it is impossible to describe." In the fifth heaven he sees the Satans, or "Grigori," the original heavenly rebels, sad and silent, who at his rebuke break into a pitiful song to the Lord. In the sixth are the archangels and the angels of Nature singing at God's footstool, while the seventh is the precinct of God's throne; there the angelic orders come in turn to the steps and "sing songs in the boundless light with small and tender voices." It is in the tenth Heaven that Enoch is brought into the Presence, and sees God's face. There he is anointed and robed in glorious garments, and writes the three hundred and sixty-five books of all knowledge, and of all human destiny, and sitting by Gabriel hears the great secrets of God, how He formed the visible from the invisible: "for before all things were visible, I alone used to go about in the invisible things, like sun from east to west, and from west to east. But even the sun has peace in itself, while I found no peace——": how heaven and the angels, and earth were formed—and lastly man "of seven consistencies, his flesh from the earth, his blood from the dew, his eyes from the sun, his bones from stone, his intelligence from the swiftness of the angels and from cloud; his veins and hair from the grass of the earth; his soul from My breath and from wind." Man is child both of visible and invisible, he is a second angel, and bears the name ADAM, whose four letters are the initials of the four quarters. Enoch is told to hand on the books to his children, and to return to earth to teach them for thirty days. The rest of the book contains his instruction. He inculcates obedience to rulers, a life of kindness and charity, and altogether deprecates the value of sacrifice: "God demands pure hearts, and with all that only tests the heart of man." Swearing

is forbidden: "If there is no truth in men let them swear by the words "yea, yea," or else "nay, nay." And they are to return good for evil. It is striking to find kindness to animals dwelt upon; in fact the souls of the animals "will not perish, till the great judgement, and they will accuse man, if he feed them ill."

All the duties of life are to be done with the pervading sense that it is the world of God's creation in which we are involved, and that God sees everything. "If you look to heaven the Lord is there; if you take thought of the sea's depth, and all the underworld the Lord is there."

The book ends with an account of a three-days' feast after Enoch's final translation.

There are many striking similarities of expression and thought which seem to show that the writers of the New Testament are in some measure dependent on this book. In the Gospels "Blessed are the peacemakers," recalls "Blessed is he who implants peace." The verse (xlix. 1): "I swear not by oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature . . . if there is no truth in them let them swear by the words 'yea, yea' or 'nay, nay,'" is surely the basis of Matt. v. 34–37. Again, John xiv. 2 is certainly connected with: "In the great time to come—are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, bad for the bad" (lxi.2). There are also many striking parallels with St. Paul and Hebrews; *e. g.* xlii. 12: "Blessed is he in whom is truth, that he may speak truth to his neighbour" (cf. Eph. iv. 25), and xxv. 1: "I commanded . . . that visible things should come down from invisible" seems to be at the back of Heb. xi. 3: "What is seen hath not been made of things that do appear." In Revelation there are similar likenesses, *e. g.* ix. 1: "There was given to him the key of the pit of the abyss," cf. "The keyholders and guards of the gates of hell" (xlii. 1).

Note.—Charles and Morfill's edition (1896).

II. BARUCH

THIS interesting book only exists in a Syriac translation from the Greek, which was itself translated from the Hebrew. It is one of many works attributed to Baruch. It must have been written after the Fall of Jerusalem A.D. 70, and probably before the end of the century. It is, therefore, contemporaneous with the great mass of New Testament literature, " and furnishes records of the Jewish doctrines and beliefs of that period, and of the arguments which prevailed in Judaism in the latter half of the first century, with which its leaders sought to uphold its declining faith and confront the attacks of a growing and aggressive Christianity " (Charles). It is a last example from the standpoint of orthodox Pharisaism, of the freer and more poetical side of Jewish thought, and though generally pessimistic in tone, has still its glorious visions of a bright Messianic future.

Scholars differ as to whether it is of composite or single authorship. To Canon Charles its conflicting views of the Messiah and other points of theology, and the interblended light and shade of its outlook make it certainly composite. Clemen, on the other hand, holds that the writer merely incorporated varying apocalyptic matter, while Prof. Burkitt lays stress on the likelihood that a seer's visions at different periods faithfully recorded are not bound to be harmonious. All would agree that it includes an amount of earlier material, somewhat crudely put together.

The book is supposed to be Baruch's account of what happened to him at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, but, as Dr. Oesterley remarks, " the

narrative is to be understood as referring to the present time from the author's point of view." It falls into seven sections, of which the following is a short synopsis.

I. (i.–xii.). The imminent fall of the city is announced, and the Chaldæans come. But four angels overthrow the walls, and bury the holy things of the Temple, and a voice is heard: "Enter ye enemies, for he who kept the house has forsaken it."

II. (xiii.–xx.). The question of the incomprehensible judgements of God, by which the righteous suffer, is considered. The counsel is: "Look to the end." "For now it is the consummation of time that should be considered, whether of business, or prosperity, or shame, and not the beginning thereof" (xix. 5).

III. (xxi.–xxxiv.). The time of tribulation for the wicked of the whole earth is foretold, leading up to the Messianic age. Baruch tells the elders that the Law is to be their stay, amid the fall of everything around them.

IV. (xxxv.–xlvi.). Baruch's vision of the cedar and the vine, which remains when the cedar is dust. The cedar is probably Pompey, and the vine is the Messiah. Baruch is told of his coming death.

V. (xlvii.–lii.). Account of the Resurrection Body. For the sake of recognition all will rise exactly as they lived on earth; *after* the judgement the transformation to glory or shame shall take place.

VI. (liii.–lxxvi.). The vision of the cloud rising out of the sea, the water beneath is alternately dark and bright twelve times. Thus is portrayed the successive faithfulness and apostasy of the Jewish people. The culmination is the appearance of twelve rivers typifying the Messiah's reign.

VII. (lxxvii.–lxxxvii.). Baruch sends two letters: one to the nine and a half tribes, and the other to the two and a half tribes in Babylon. The latter is not given, and is supposed by Canon Charles to be partially incorporated in the apocryphal Baruch I. The former insists that the exiles suffer a just judgement of God,

that their oppressors shall be punished, and that they must observe the Law rigidly.

"The righteous have been gathered,
And the prophets have fallen asleep;
And we also have gone forth from the land,
And Zion has been taken from us;
And we have nothing now save the
Mighty One and His Law." (LXXXV. 3.)

Baruch binds the letter to the neck of the eagle, who is to carry it, and the book ends somewhat abruptly.

The teaching of the book elucidates that of our Lord and of St. Paul by contrast. We see how an orthodox Pharisee felt about the paramount duty of obedience both to the oral and the written Law. "Shepherds, and lamps, and fountains come from the Law, and though we depart yet the Law abideth." We see how intensely he believed that salvation depended on works, *i. e.* obedience, and how good works provided a treasury of merit to be shared by others. We see the Jew wrestling with the same problems as St. Paul—Sin, Free-will, and Predestination. Two lines here are very suggestive: "Each one of us hath been the Adam of his own soul" (liv. 19), and "O Adam, what hast thou done to all those who are born of thee!" They represent in striking phrase the great antinomy which the writer is powerless to resolve. Section V. takes us again into the very sphere of St. Paul's thought when he wrote to the Corinthian Christians of the Resurrection Body. With regard to the Messiah there seem to be conflicting views. In xxiv.–xxx. the Messianic Kingdom will follow the manifold woes before the judgement; but the Messiah returns to heaven, after being revealed. In the other, *i. e.* xxxix., xl., we have a full description of the war of the Messiah against Israel's foes, and of His reign on earth in joy and peace until the Resurrection.

In spite of this the message to the tribes falls back

on a note of utter pessimism, reflecting the evils of the writer's surroundings:

" For the youth of the world is past
And the strength of the creation already exhausted,
And the advent of the times is very short,
Yea, they have passed by;
And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
And the ship to the port,
And the course of the journey to the city,
And life to its consummation." (LXXXV. 10.)

Note.—S.P.C.K. edition by Charles (1917).

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

(III. BARUCH)

THE Greek Apocalypse of Baruch has only recently been translated (1897) by Dr. M. R. James from a MS. discovered in the British Museum. It belongs to the early part of the second century, and shows signs, especially in its later part, of having been edited by a Christian writer. It does not bear any close relation to the other Baruch literature, but shows some connection with 1 Enoch. The writer was a Hellenistic Jew, and there is a strong Oriental colour about his speculation. In the latter part the Christian editor, in the vision of the men with baskets, seems to be pointing at the imperfection of the lives and thought of his Jewish opponents.

The Apocalypse relates the journey of Baruch through the five heavens. In the first heaven he sees men "with the faces of oxen, and the horns of stags, and the feet of goats, and the haunches of lambs." These were the builders of the Tower of Babel, and "men like dogs with the feet of stags, the instigators of the building," who took a gimlet, and sought to pierce the heaven, saying, "Let us see whether it is made of clay, or brass, or iron." In the second Baruch sees Hades and the dragon, who eats the bodies of evil-livers, and the tree which led Adam astray. This was the vine planted by Sammael (Satan). In the third he sees the chariot of the sun drawn by forty angels. The Phœnix circles round it, protecting the earth from the sun's rays with the screen of its wings. This wonderful bird lives on manna and dew, and when the angels open the three hundred and sixty-five gates

of heaven, it awakens all the cocks on earth with its cry. At evening it stands exhausted with drooping wings, when the angels take away the weary sun's crown to renew it for its next journey; it needs renewal because of the wickedness of men that it has to behold. He also sees the moon, which wanes because of God's anger with her, in that she increased in light when Satan put on the serpent's form; the moon and stars shine by night, when the sun is absent, just as courtiers speak freely only when the king retires. In the fourth the souls of the righteous gather like birds around a pool. In the fifth Michael comes down to the gate of heaven to receive the prayers of man. He holds a deep vessel, in which he carries the merits of the righteous up to God. Men bring their merits in the form of flowers, some of their baskets are full, some half-full, and some empty. Michael rewards the first two classes with oil, and warns the third of coming judgement.

The chief characteristics of the book seem to be its *naïve* childishness and accumulation of marvels. Its doctrine of the mediation of the angels, and of the transcendence of God has a gnostic tinge, and is very pronounced. The ethical force of the vision of the men with baskets is stripped of its power, if it is only a piece of religious polemic.

As a whole, 3 Baruch takes but a low place among the Apocalypses.

Note.—Most accessible in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. II. (Maldwyn Hughes).

THE FOURTH BOOK OF EZRA

THE Fourth Book of Ezra is 2 Esdras of our official Apocrypha. It is therefore better known in the Church than the other apocalyptic writings. It is also one of the most interesting, lofty, and deep apocalypses, and presents the spirit of Judaism in a most attractive light. Indeed, it is the writing of one anxiously revolving the enigmas that Christ came to solve, one like St. Paul in outlook, but who has not taken St. Paul's step out of darkness into light.

The book is preserved in Latin, and in Oriental versions. All these are derived from the Greek. And modern scholars may be said to be agreed that this came from a Hebrew original.

Chapters iii.–xiv. are the original and important part of the book, the Apocalypse proper. Most modern editors since Kabisch (1889) regard these chapters as a composite document, made up of at least five earlier portions : *i.e.* (i.) The First four Visions (Salathiel Apocalypse) ; (ii.) The Eagle Vision ; (iii.) The Son of Man Vision ; (iv.) The Ezra Legend, and (v.) Extracts from an old Ezra Apocalypse.

In any case chapters i. and ii. are a Christian Introduction, and the last two chapters a later piece of Jewish invective. With regard to the date Canon Box places the final editing of chapters iii.–xiv. between A.D. 100 and 135 ; the date of the Salathiel portion A.D. 100 ; of the Eagle Vision A.D. 81–96, or quite possibly A.D. 69–79 ; of the Son of Man Vision before A.D. 70 ; the Ezra Legend after A.D. 70 ; and the old Ezra portion before that date. Its first publication was in the same period as 2 Baruch, to which

it is very similar in some respects. The Introduction and Appendix are considerably later.

The book consists of Seven Visions, of which the following is a brief account:

First Vision, iii. 1–v. 13. In the year 558 B.C. Ezra asks God of the justice of the Captivity and Fall of Zion. The angel Uriel sets forth the unsearchableness of God's ways; only a short time remains before the end; the signs are described.

Second Vision, v. 14–vi. 34. Similar teaching of man's weak powers, and the coming justification of God's ways.

Third Vision, vi. 35–ix. 25. The chief subject is the fewness of the saved, which moves Ezra's compassion intensely. He intercedes for the human race.

This section contains a fragment of 69 verses, which appears in our Revised Version, but not in the Authorized Version. It is missing from most of the Latin codices, and was recovered by Bensly. It fills the gap between verses 35 and 36 of the text of the Vulgate, and deals with the Resurrection and Final Judgement, and the state of the soul in the Intermediate state.

Fourth Vision, ix. 26–x. 59. A woman who has lost her only son converses with Ezra. She vanishes, and in her place he sees a city. He learns that she represents Zion.

Fifth Vision, x. 60–xii. 39. The Vision of the Eagle with three heads, and twelve wings, that is destroyed by a Lion. He is told it is the fourth kingdom seen by Daniel (*i.e.* the Roman power) to be destroyed by the Messiah.

Sixth Vision, xii. 40–xiii. 58. The Vision of the Messiah, who destroys his foes with his word alone, and then welcomes a peaceful multitude, *i.e.* the ten tribes.

Seventh Vision, xiv. 1–48. Ezra, warned of his translation, prays for the people, left without teacher or Law. God bids him bring five scribes, and gives him a wonderful drink, which enables him to dictate

continuously for forty days. The result is ninety-four books, of which twenty-four are the restored canonical books that had been destroyed, and seventy are of an esoteric nature to be preserved by the wise. Ezra's translation follows.

Whatever view be taken of the original elements of the book, there is certainly a different tone and outlook in the earlier and later parts. The earlier visions are far more deeply concerned with the ultimate problems of human life. The writer is rebellious and perplexed. Why, he asks, is Israel delivered over to the heathen? If for punishment, the heathen surely are equally sinful. And if men by their "evil heart" are doomed to sin from the beginning, the Law is only the salvation of a few. The answers to his despondent questioning are that God is inscrutable, and man's intelligence limited, that earth's ways have been fore-ordained, and that in spite of all the love of God for Israel is "deeper than the measure of man's mind." He concludes generally in utter pessimism as to the future of this present order; all hope lies over the border in the incorruptible world. Yet even so the problem of the loss of the sinful remains. Would it not have been better for them not to have existed? Still he clings to the divine love, and the hope that "not one life shall be destroyed, or cast as rubbish to the void." In short, he realizes the failure of the Law, and stands side by side with St. Paul in his conviction that all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God, and therefore that all need mercy.

From this stress on the individual we pass in the later visions to the more usual ideas of national restoration. In the Eagle Vision we see a new theocracy take the place of the Roman tyranny. In the Son of Man Vision the Messiah rules by the Law, and his people attain perfection by obedience to it. In the Ezra Legend the world is very near its end, and the Messiah will soon appear, and establish a temporary Messianic Kingdom, which will terminate

in his death, and the return of all things to silence. Then will follow the Judgement. All this is more or less parallel with the ideas of the other apocalyptic writers. It seems to belong to a different world of thought from that of the writer of the earlier visions with his obstinate questionings, his sense of the inestimable worth of the individual, and his grasp of the Infinite Pity. If authors were always perfectly consistent, it would be impossible to regard the earlier and later visions as the production of one mind. But it is perhaps allowable to regard him as inconsistent and illogical—presenting now the questions that surged in a deeply sensitive and religious soul, and now the stereotyped visions of future political events, which were the common property of the apocalyptic school. We moderns go to the first part of his book and hear a brother-mind debating the same problems that always arise in the human heart, and leave him refreshed and uplifted, despondent though he be of this world's future, while we find in the second a picture of what the more commonplace Jewish mind was thinking as to the future of his race, as he saw the beloved City ruined.

We are indebted to this book for the picturesque story of Ezra rewriting the canonical books, and for the words of the "Requiem" of Western Christendom—

> "Requiem aeternitatis dabit vobis,
> Lux perpetua lucebit vobis."
>
> (II. 34, 35.)

Note.—*Temple Apocrypha* edition, by Duff. S.P.C.K. edition, by Box (1917).

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

THE Psalms of Solomon, which only exist now in Greek Manuscripts and one in Syriac, were Hebrew writings, dated by most scholars in the middle of the first century B.C. We find them recognized by the Christian Church up to the sixth century, and returning into notice after long years of oblivion in the seventeenth century.

They are eighteen in number, and, like the canonical Psalms, express the fundamental piety and the deep-set ideals of the Jewish race in hours of stress and crisis. Though not necessarily the work of one author, they are pervaded by a unity of tone and sentiment, which stamps them as the production of one school of thought.

They are distinctly partisan in spirit, and they throw considerable light on the acute antagonism of the Pharisees and Sadducees in the half-century preceding our Lord's birth.

The writers belong to the *Chasidim*, or "godly" Jews, distinctively poor and uninfluential in politics, averse from rebellion against oppression, content to wait for the slow harvest of God's purpose in the coming Messianic Kingdom, rigorous in their fulfilment of the commands of the Law, passionately pure in sexual matters, firm believers in a future life, and holding the balance even between fate and freewill in the manner of the later Pharisees described by Josephus.

The Psalms denounce those opposed to all such ideals, whom we shall be right in identifying with the Sadducees. From the point of view of the writers the latter are characteristically "sinful," loose in morals, and careless of the honour of the Sanctuary, with

which they had a very close connection. They possessed wealth and political influence, which was based upon their support of the later Hasmonæan king-priests. By their sins they had drawn down upon their country the storm of Roman invasion, merging good and bad alike in common ruin, and the prophetic insight of the Psalmist foresees for them no portion in the world to come but utter destruction.

Thus in these Psalms we have a very striking picture of the intense bitterness of feeling between the two chief religious parties of that day, a bitterness which saw no trace of good in its opponents, and exaggerated their feelings with relentless severity.

The references to the "alien conqueror" seem to fix the date of these writings unmistakably, as well as to show the attitude of Jewish Quietists to the Romans. Though these have been referred to Antiochus Epiphanes, there can be little question that they point far more directly to Pompey the Great, and his capture of Jerusalem in 48 B.C. They tell of one who came from the West, and was allowed by those in power to approach Jerusalem without opposition, who, when at last he found himself opposed, stormed Mount Zion with battering-rams, defiled the altar, carried captives away with him, and eventually perished amid the sands of Egypt, where he lay on the shore without burial. Now all this is remarkably close to what actually happened in the case of Pompey, and we are justified in regarding the Psalms as the product of a time when these tragedies were not long past.

Continuing the prophetic attitude to foreign invaders like Cyrus, Pompey is seen by the writer as an Avenger sent by God Himself—

> "He captured the fortresses and the wall of Jerusalem;
> For God Himself led him in safety, while they wandered." (VIII. 21.)

It was a necessary doom, a flood that swept away defilement, and left " the servants of God like innocent lambs in the midst," to adore the righteousness and faithfulness of God. It was the proper harvest of the days when " the king was a transgressor, and the judge disobedient, and the people sinful." And now it is past, the Advent of the true King, the Son of David, may be looked for. Nowhere in these writings is the picture of the Messiah more beautifully drawn than in Psalm xvii. He is the Righteous Deliverer freeing Israel by " the word of his mouth," and driving unrighteousness away. He is the Universalist Messiah " who shall have the heathen nations to serve under his yoke." He is the model king " who himself shall be pure from sin, that he may rule a great people."

As a short example of the general spirit of these Psalms, I will select the sixth—

VI. In Hope: of Solomon

Happy is the man, whose heart is fixed to call upon the name of the Lord;
When he remembereth the name of the Lord he will be saved.
His ways are made even by the Lord,
And the works of his hands are preserved by the Lord his God.
At what he seeth in his bad dreams his soul shall not be troubled;
When he passeth through rivers, and the tossing of seas, he shall not be dismayed;
He ariseth from sleep and blesseth the name of the Lord;
When his heart is at peace he singeth to the name of His God:
And he entreateth the Lord for all his house.
And the Lord heareth the prayer of every one that feareth God,

And every request of the soul that hopeth for Him doth the Lord accomplish.
Blessed is the Lord, who sheweth mercy to those who love Him in sincerity.

Note.—Editions by Ryle and James (1891) and Rendel Harris (1911); and S.P.C.K. edition, by Box.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

THE book known to us as the Fourth Book of Maccabees appears among the works of Josephus under the title "On the Supremacy of Reason"; but it is almost impossible to regard it as written by him.

Internal evidence seems to show that it was written between 60 B.C. and A.D. 38, the date of the persecution of the Emperor Caligula.

Its author must have been a learned and cultured Jewish rhetorician, teaching most probably in Alexandria, the meeting-place of Hebrew and Hellenic thought. He is quite at home with the phraseology of Greek philosophy, and writes as a Stoic, but at the same time holds his orthodox faith firmly, and teaches that the ideals of Stoic virtue are best reached by those who are trained under the Law of Moses. He thus blends for us the culture of the Greek and of the Jew in a way that must have been common in our Lord's time.

The book is either a sermon for the synagogue, or a rhetorical exercise of the nature of a lecture, very much worked-up and somewhat florid in its manner. Its object seems to be to stiffen the spirits of Jewish hearers by recalling the heroism of the martyrs of their race in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, more than a century before.

The thesis of the discourse is that the Reason of man exists to control his passions, and to assure the balance of character by the attainment of the right measure of the four Stoic virtues of judgement, justice, courage, and temperance. Unlike the Stoic, however, the writer teaches that the passions are grounded in

human nature, and only need control, not destruction. He is saner and more human than the Stoic. As illustrations of his thesis he refers to the lives of Joseph, Jacob, Moses, and David, and then describes at length the heroic martyrdom of Eleazar, and the Seven Brethren and their mother, by Antiochus. He gives us the tragic conversations between the tyrant and his victims—the old man Eleazar, the seven brothers and their noble mother, who are all examples of the power of Reason to make men true to their principles in spite of the severest strain of suffering. In a flood of eulogy he claims that such martyrs not only attain a heavenly reward, but save their country by disarming and shaming the tyrant. In the last chapter the writer imagines the mother implanting the spirit in which they died, by recalling their dead father's teaching from the Law and the prophets about the great heroes of their race.

The description of the tortures is often gruesome in the extreme. We have " wheels, joint-dislocators, and racks, and bone-crushers, and catapults, and chaldrons, and braziers, and thumb-screws, and iron claws, and wedges, and branding-irons," employed by the tyrant to break down the constancy of the youths, until the last and youngest being allowed to go free to speak to him and those round him, proudly denounces him and leaps into a red-hot brazier. The persuasions of the tyrant are made most alluring, the torment unspeakably horrible, yet they remained firm, and their mother pressed them on. So the conclusion is—

> " How can we do otherwise than admit right Reason's mastery over passion with those men who shrank not before the agonies of burning? For even as towers on harbour-moles repulse the assaults of the waves, and offer a calm entrance to those entering the haven, so the seven-towered right Reason of the youths defended the haven of righteousness, and repulsed the tempestuousness

> of the passions. They formed a holy choir of righteousness, as they cheered one another on, saying, ' Let us die like brothers, O brethren, for the Law. Let us imitate the Three Children at the Assyrian court, who despised this same ordeal, the furnace.' . . . Let us then own ourselves with divine Reason's mastery of the passions. After this our passion Abraham, Isaac and Jacob shall receive us, and all our forefathers shall praise us."

The writer exhausts himself in the eulogy of the mother. She overcame the primitive instincts which work just as much in the animal world as in human nature; for a mother's love "becomes the centre of her whole world." She overcame by Reason "nature and parenthood and mother-love and her children on the rack," and became like the Ark of Noah, a bearer of the burden of the future. For by her fidelity she upheld for coming generations the burden of the Law of God.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees is interesting as being the ground of a free paraphrase, in another era of persecution, by the great Erasmus. It certainly is a vivid picture of the spirit of the martyrs of all ages, and it is no wonder that it has spoken with something of a clarion-voice to the Church in times when fidelity to the Truth meant peril of death.

Note.—S.P.C.K. edition, by Emmet (1918).

THE BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES OF PHILO

In the so-called Biblical Antiquities of Philo we have an instance of the rediscovery for the use of students of our own day of a piece of Jewish literature, most probably of the same date as a great part of the New Testament. Dr. M. R. James, its translator and editor, found some fragments of this work in 1893 in a manuscript at Cheltenham, which led to their being identified with part of a Jewish work, which had been sufficiently well-known during the Revival of Learning in the sixteenth century to be printed in at least five editions. Its history through the Middle Ages is very obscure, and there are no certain allusions to it in the Fathers, unless it be in Origen [On John (Tom. vi. 14)]. Modern scholars regard it as a valuable addition to our sources of knowledge of the orthodox Jewish mind after the Fall of Jerusalem A.D. 70, and as closely connected with the school of writers who produced the Fourth Book of Esdras and the Apocalypse of Baruch. Its attribution to Philo is a vagary of which there is no explanation, and the title was probably appended in the sixteenth century.

There seems no doubt that, like the Assumption of Moses, it was originally written in Hebrew, then translated into Greek, and that our somewhat corrupt and imperfect Latin Version was made in the fourth century.

All that remains of the book includes a more or less continuous history of Israel from Adam to the death of Saul. It is suggested that the Books of Chronicles were its model, but in reading it we are

not conscious of anything of the nature of the predominating priestly tendency of the chroniclers. The writer's purpose in neglecting or scantily epitomizing wide fields of Biblical material, in rewriting lives and speeches, and in concentrating attention on persons and events hardly known in the Bible can only be guessed at. His long lists of names and imaginary numbers are a strange evidence of what pleased the Jews of that time. Dr. James supposes that he desired to fill out the existing narratives and " to infuse a more religious tone into certain episodes of the history, particularly into the period of the Judges, and to emphasize certain great truths, foremost among which should be placed the indestructibility of Israel, and the duty of faithfulness to the One God."

This book is thus similar in scope to the Book of Jubilees; it is an attempt to rewrite the early part of the Old Testament. But (i) Jubilees is chiefly concerned with the Patriarchs, whereas " Philo " gives most space to the Judges and Saul. (ii) Jubilees is definitely anxious to exalt the ceremonial Law and the Temple system, while " Philo " shows no sense of this side of Pharisaism. (iii) Jubilees works up ancient legends and comments, whereas " Philo " seems to be largely using his own imagination, in the creation, for instance, of the heroic Kenaz, whom one can hardly suppose the readers were intended to regard as a historical personage.

With regard to the writer the general impression of him is admirably summarized by Dr. James[1]:

" We cannot regard him as a man of very lofty mind or of great literary talent. He has some imagination, and is sensible of the majesty of the Old Testament literature, but he has not the insight, the power, or the earnestness of the author of 4 Esdras, nor again the ethical perception of him who wrote the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs."

[1] p. 65.

The writer has several expressions similar to those in the New Testament, showing the use of a common language among religious writers. St. Paul's Rock[1] that followed the Israelites in the wilderness is usefully illustrated (x. 7): "He brought them quails from the sea, and a well of water following them brought he forth for them." And xi. 15: "And there did he command many things and showed him the tree of life, whereof he cut and took and put it into Mara, and the Water of Mara was made sweet and followed them in the desert forty years, and went up into the hills with them, and came down into the plain." In cxlviii. we find an interesting identification of Phinehas with Elijah, illustrating the hint in St. Mark ix. 13 ("As it is written of him") that the Jewish tradition was that Elijah, when he came again, should suffer death.

The book teaches that there will be a judgement according to works at the end of the world, and a new heaven and a new earth, in which the righteous shall dwell with Moses, lighted by the precious stones of their ancient temple, and mutually recognizing one another. The wicked will pine in hell till the end of the world and will then be destroyed. The stress on retribution is very marked; sooner or later the punishment for sin comes. The idea of Israel's privilege is very majestic: Israel alone exists to glorify God, she can never be utterly destroyed, her Law is the everlasting canon by which the world will be judged. Her chief danger is to mingle in marriage with the Gentiles. With regard to the spirit-world, there is an allusion to guardian-angels, to angels as intercessors for men, and to angels, whose names are given (Ingethal, Zeruch, Nathaniel), set over the hidden things, strength, and fire. Evil spirits are not very prominent, but we have the touch in Samuel's Vision, that Eli wonders if an unclean spirit has spoken; for if one hears two calls at night the speaker is an evil spirit, if three, God. The conception of God is very

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 4, and Targum of Onkelos on Numbers.

interesting, as showing what popular ideas Christianity actually displaced. He is certainly "All Light" to Moses, and "Life," and "One who looks on the heart," and He knows the minds of all generations before they are born—but He punishes Jephtha by the loss of his daughter, because his vow angered Him: "If a dog were the first to meet him, should a dog be offered to Me? It shall fall upon his only child." He is deceitful and spiteful; *e.g.* he will not allow Eli's sons to repent, "because aforetime they had said: "When we grow old we will repent."

Dr. James does not find any anticipation of a Messiah in the text. God works and will complete His work, according to the writer, without an intermediary.

The sixty-five chapters of the book are filled as follows—

I.–II. Adam to Lamech.
III.–V. Noah and his descendants.
VI.–VIII. Abraham to the death of Joseph.
IX.–XIX. Moses.
XX.–XXIV. Joshua.
XXV.–XLIII. The Judges.
XLIV.–XLVIII. Events of the last chapters of Judges.
XLIX.–LV. Life of Samuel to the return of the Ark.
LVI.–LVIII. Saul's career.
LIX.–LXV. Saul and David to Saul's death.

The large amount of space devoted to the Judges is striking, and the fact that a third of it has to do with "Kenaz" still more so. He immediately succeeds Joshua, emulates him in discovering hidden sinners, and in martial deeds. The account of his combat with the Amorites is interesting, but scarcely a fair example of the writer's style:

XXVII. 10: "And it came to pass when Cerez heard their words he was clothed with the spirit of might and changed into another man, and went down into the camp of the Amorites and began to smite them. And the Lord sent before his face the angel Ingethal, who is set over the hidden things, and worketh unseen,

(and another) angel of might helping with him; and Ingethal smote the Amorites with blindness, so that every man that saw his neighbour counted them his adversaries, and they slew one another. And the angel Zeruch, who is set over strength, bare up the arms of Cerez lest they should perceive him; and Cerez smote of the Amorites forty and five thousand men, and they themselves smote one another; And fell forty and five thousand men. 11. And when Cerez had smitten a great multitude, he would have loosened his hand from his sword, for the handle of the sword clave, that it could not be loosed, and his right hand had taken into it the strength of the sword."

Note.—S.P.C.K. edition, by James (1917).

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